

SEX ROLE DEVELOPMENT AND  
IDENTITY ACHIEVEMENT

By

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Utilizing the framework of Erikson's theory to conceptualize the relation between sex role development and overall identity formation, and the related empirical evidence on parental sex role identification and peer group influence, we chose to study the contribution to identity achievement of three factors.

The three factors were the level of nurturance of the late adolescent's relation with his/her same-sex parent (measured by the Parent-Child Interaction Rating Scales developed by Hilbrun), the level of the father's masculine sex role stereotyping/the mother's feminine sex role stereotyping (measured by the nine sex-typed scales of the Adjective Check List), and the level of matching between the same-sex parent's and peer's sex role stereotyping (measured by comparison of the subject's separate ratings of parent and peer on the Adjective Check List). We investigated the related issues of whether exposure to both masculine and

feminine sex role stereotypes in parent and peer models is integrated into an androgynous sex role self-concept (measured by Bem's Sex Role Inventory) and whether more androgynous self-concept would be related to greater identity consolidation. Additionally, based on the premise that the traits of the traditional female role are antagonistic to identity development and previous findings of a male advantage in identity achievement, we predicted that our male subjects would score significantly higher than the females on our measure of identity - the Ego Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank developed by Marcia and modified to include sexuality items.

The five instruments were administered in two sessions to the 56 male and 56 female subjects pooled from the introductory behavioral studies classes at a Community College.

There were no significant effects on identity achievement for any of the three factors or between androgyny and identity achievement. However, several important trends emerged. The most important influence on male identity achievement was found to be the level of perceived sex role typing in the adolescent's father. Male students with a highly masculine stereotyped father scored higher on identity than those with a less masculine father. From the patterns that emerged in the female androgyny scores we supported the general hypothesis that the reaction of the daughter to the mother-daughter relationship and of the sex role preference of the mother has a determining effect on the direction of

the daughter's sex role self-concept - whether she develops toward feminine stereotyping or androgyny. The influence of the peer's sex role norms is merely an adjunct in this process. As we discussed, perhaps the most striking finding was the negligible impact for both males and females of the peer's sex role norms. From the above trends it was concluded that the early influence of the same-sex parent far outweighs the effect of the peer sex role model the youth is exposed to in late adolescence.

A rather unexpected and noteworthy finding was that the females scored substantially higher on identity achievement than the males. The following explanations for this finding were proposed and evaluated: a higher than normative incidence of androgyny in our female subjects, conflicts between the males self-perceptions and actualizations of masculine sex-typed traits, and sanction by the Women's Movement for the development of traits in females that facilitate identity achievement.

## CHAPTER I THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND

Erik Erikson has conceptualized the focal theme of adolescence as a crisis in identity, precipitated by the discontinuity of development occurring at that time. He attributes the disruption of adolescence not only to physical changes and increased sexual demands but also to the strain of assuming new social roles as well as the difficulties engendered in relating these new elements to identity fragments developed in earlier stages. The outcome of this crisis, the success or failure of re-integration, depends on the possibility of integrating significant identifications as well as libidinal needs, favored skills, and constitutional givens with the available social roles and involves choices and decisions which result in commitments for life (Erikson, 1968).

To assemble all these converging elements at the end of childhood is a formidable task, and it follows that adolescence is a time of "normative crisis, i.e., a normal phase of increased conflict" (Erikson, 1968, p. 163). As such, it is not defined by the self-perpetuating propensities of neurotic and psychotic crises, but rather is more traversable, being characterized by an abundance of energy which serves both to support the ego in its search for and playful engagement with new opportunities

as well as to revive dormant anxiety and arouse new conflict and confusion (Erikson, 1968).

To accomplish this integration of identity elements, Erikson believes adolescents need above all a psychosocial moratorium, an intermediate period between childhood and adulthood characterized by a delay of adult commitments. It is up to the society to offer a moratorium during which the individual ego, through role experimentation and fantasy, may examine and attempt to integrate old and new ways of being. The end result of this process is the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of all significant childhood identifications into a coherent gestalt uniquely suited to the individual and yet in concordance with the adult roles offered by his society at that time (Erikson, 1968). For it is of great importance to the adolescent's identity formation that his more finalized self-definition be verified in experiences of psychological "fittedness." However, this experience of "fittedness" involves more than the adolescent filling an appropriate slot. This is a subtle process which Erikson calls recognition - a type of response to the growing person, at every new step in his development, that informs him that his individual way of being is a successful variant of his group's identity (Erikson, 1963).

In short, whether the identity crisis is successful or unsuccessful depends on 1) the developmental history of the individual as reflected in variations in ego abilities and in the quality of childhood identifications as well as



2) the present situation of the adolescent, involving the extent of recognition available in the role opportunities of his peer group and the quality of the moratorium provided by the larger society.

The unsuccessful resolution of the crisis has several variations, including too early "commitment" imposed on the youth by community recognition at a critical moment when he has aroused displeasure, the youth's own foreclosure of his identity development by concentration on one area to the exclusion of other vital aspects, and, finally, acute identity diffusion - an extreme version of the normative negative pole of the identity crisis. This pole, labeled identity confusion or role confusion, consists of the conflicts, confusion, and anxiety aroused in this normative crisis which must also enter the process of identity formation and hopefully be integrated.

The positive resolution of this crisis is marked by the achievement of a sense of identity defined by Erikson as "the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (Erikson, 1963, p. 261). Many writers on adolescence agree with Erikson that the development of sex roles plays an integral part in the adolescent's overall identity formation (Blos, 1961; Dignan, 1965; Heilbrun, 1964a; Kagan, 1964; Sanford, 1967). Sex roles are a mandatory and all encompassing structure that the growing individual utilizes in interpreting his experience. These typologies grant the youth an "inner sameness and continuity" that is

matched by his "sameness and continuity for others" over an intensive and extensive range of his experiences of himself and others.

The fact that many of our youth are now rejecting much of the content of this societal recognition of their experience does not mean that they as a generation are less clear about their own bodily experience but rather that they object to the particular type of recognition our society offers - that is, the traditional sex roles (Erikson, 1968). While the relationship between the parental sex role preference and either the adolescent's own sex role or his identity achievement has been the subject of several studies, no one has yet assessed the effect on identity formation of the alternative sex role norms of the late adolescent's peer culture. The purpose of this study is to investigate the contribution to identity achievement of both those factors already deemed to be crucial in parental sex role identification as well as the interaction effect of those factors and peer sex role prescriptions.

Identity theory postulates that the ease of re-synthesis of identification into a more final self-definition is influenced by both past experience with the models of the child's family and the options that are available to the adolescent in the larger society. In order to predict the relation between sex role development and identity formation, we may translate this basic postulate into the specifics of the process of sex role identification. The resulting

prediction is that the "quality and coherence of the sex role identifications the adolescent must attempt to integrate will vary according to the degree of satisfactory interaction he has experienced with a trustworthy and meaningful hierarchy of sex roles in his family" (Erikson, 1956). The literature on parental sex role identification provides evidence and theory that support and clarify the specific hypotheses that we will derive from this global prediction.

The first factor we will consider in this prediction is the degree of satisfactory interaction the adolescent has experienced with the primary models of sex roles in his family - his parents. A nurturant relation is one type of satisfactory interaction with parents that has been shown to be significantly related to the coherence of the adolescent's sex role identifications. Several studies demonstrate that the degree to which a nurturant, rewarding relationship exists between a youth and his same-sex parent is related to the strength of the youth's identification with this parent and the strength of the appropriate sex role preference made by the youth (Heilbrun, 1964b; Mussen, 1961; Mussen & Distler, 1959; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963; Payne & Mussen, 1956). The occurrence of a nurturant relation with the opposite-sex parent has not been shown to be related to the youth's sex role identification (Mussen & Distler, 1959; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963).

One study has related this one aspect of the process of sex role development - the relation between parental nurturance

and the coherence of sex role identifications - to the outcome of integration of sex role identifications - overall identity achievement (Heilbrun, 1964b). High father nurturance was found to be significantly related to high role consistency - a measure of overall identity - for male adolescents. Heilbrun helped clarify the role of same-sex parental nurturance in the relation between sex role development and identity achievement by demonstrating that the interaction between nurturance and parental sex role preference had a significant effect on identity achievement. There was no simple relation between parental sex role preference and identity, for it was necessary to take into account the nurturance factor to determine if the parent's sex role was imitated and, thus, could effect the adolescent's identity integration. When the father presented a low masculine model for the male adolescent, greater nurturance was associated with lower identity achievement while greater nurturance in a moderate or high masculine model was related to higher identity achievement.

A second factor represented in the predicted relation between sex role development and identity achievement is the "meaningful hierarchy" of sex roles in the adolescent's family. The degree of masculinity of the father and femininity of the mother is one aspect of the social meaningfulness of familial sex roles that several investigators believe should influence the quality and coherence of the child's sex role identifications (Heilbrun, 1964b; Kagan, 1964; Mussen &

Rutherford, 1963). However, the evidence is not clear-cut. The specific assumptions that a highly feminine mother would foster her daughter's femininity, and a highly masculine father would foster his son's masculinity were not supported in studies by Mussen & Rutherford (1963) and Payne & Mussen (1956).

Considering the male youth first, both studies concluded that the role of the parents in masculinizing their son has nothing to do with the masculinity of the father or the femininity of the mother but is simply that the father provide initial motivation, through provision of a nurturant and rewarding relationship, and that the son imitate his behavior. Then by generalization the son will continue to emulate other men, including more masculine ones. Their explanation assumes the provision of much greater assistance from the social environment in the development of the boy's sex role identification than the girl's. This assumption of differential assistance is widely supported by observation and experimental evidence (Bardwick, 1971; Brown, 1958; Heilbrun, 1964b; Lynn, 1966; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; Rudy, 1968; West as cited in Mussen & Rutherford, 1963). In short, the general culture of the parental generation greatly assists the family in the masculinization of the boy by providing well articulated cues for the masculine role and by consistently rewarding the boy for learning them.

However, subsequent to Payne & Mussen's and Mussen & Rutherford's studies, Heilbrun demonstrated that the degree

of masculinity of the father's sex role preference does significantly effect the process of sex role identification and overall identity achievement (1964b). As we noted in the above discussion of the factor of nurturance, Heilbrun found that moderate or high masculinity of the father model (when high nurturance was also present) was significantly related to high identity achievement, while low masculinity of the father model (with high nurturance present) was associated with low identity achievement for male adolescents.

In his discussion of these results Heilbrun implicates a third factor in the relation between sex role development and identity formation - the similarity of familial roles and the sex roles of the adolescent's society. This factor is emphasized in our general thesis and elsewhere in Erikson's writings on identity. One way in which familial roles form a "trustworthy hierarchy" is the degree to which they match the sex role expectations of the adolescent's present society. Heilbrun explained his results in terms of the matching or lack of matching between parental sex roles and socially reinforced sex role behavior. Specifically, if a boy has a high or moderate masculine father and greater nurturance is present, the highly imitated sex role behavior will also tend to be reinforced by his social environment, resulting in greater overall role consistency - Heilbrun's measure of identity achievement.

In order to trace the experimental evidence on the effects of factors two and three on the female adolescent's

sex role development and identity achievement we will return to Mussen & Rutherford's findings. While the mother's femininity was not related to the daughter's sex role preference, the father's possession of a high degree of masculinity of interests and attitudes and his active encouragement of the girl's participation in appropriate sex-typed activities tended to foster feminization of the daughter (1963). Mussen & Rutherford concluded that the parents must play a more forceful and direct role in the development of the girl's sex role than they do for the boy.

Their explanation was that in comparison to the boy, the girl receives little assistance from the social environment in the development of her sex role identification (Mussen & Rutherford, 1963). Heilbrun's explanation of his findings on females (1964b) supports this thesis of differential assistance offered by the social environment. Heilbrun found that the interaction between nurturance and model sex role preference does not have a significant effect on role consistency in female adolescents. He concluded that this relation does not appear for the female because she is exposed, not clear-cut and consistent sex role standards as the male is, but to conflicting social rewards which fail to reinforce her identification with her mother, whether or not the mother presents a highly feminine role preference.

Thus, both Mussen & Rutherford's and Heilbrun's conclusions attribute the consolidation of the female's sex role identifications to the influence of her family, with

little or no consistent recognition offered by the social environment. However, though there is less definitive evidence than for the male, there are indications that our third factor - the similarity of familial sex roles and the sex roles of the youth's present social environment - may have an important influence on the girl's level of identity achievement. In one of these studies Heilbrun tapped the outcome of parental sex role identification - the establishment of a sex role identity - and its relation to identity achievement. Sex role identity was assessed by conformity to masculine or feminine stereotypes, and identity strength was indicated by degree of role consistency. For females, Heilbrun found that either high conformity to the feminine stereotype or high conformity to the masculine stereotype resulted in high identity achievement whereas an intermediate sexual identity was related to lower role consistency (1964a). As Heilbrun's first study (1964b) showed no relation between maternal sex role preference, high nurturance, and identity achievement in female adolescents, it doesn't seem likely that identification with either a very feminine or a more masculine mother by itself is responsible for the establishment of these two types of sex role identities and the related successful identity achievement. Nor would identification with a highly masculine father account for the process of sex role consolidation and identity achievement in the feminine stereotype girls whose modal parental identification Heilbrun has shown to be with a highly feminine



mother. We might look for some other factor in the process of sex role identification that supported the consolidation of the girl's developing parental sex role identification into one of these stereotypes, which in turn produced high role consistency.

With this in mind let us consider Dignan's study of a group of college women in a very different social environment than the one in Heilbrun's studies. She found a significant positive relation between high maternal identification and identity achievement (1965). We would not expect such a simple and significant relation in light of Mussen & Rutherford's and Heilbrun's (1964b) findings. One possible explanation lies in the unique nature of the social environment that Dignan's women were in - a small Catholic women's college in the Midwest. This milieu may present consistent and clear-cut standards and models for the woman's sex role and, thus, support the development of her sex role identity contingent only upon her having made an initial identification with her mother that motivated her to generalize to other female role models. In line with this interpretation we would expect that both stereotypical groups in Heilbrun's study had found sex role standards and models in their surroundings that helped them successfully consolidate their sex role identifications with their parents.

Such a fortunate situation does not seem to exist in the environment of many American female adolescents. Sanford reports that a study of females at Vassar, over the period

1952-1958, revealed that seniors showed more disturbance with respect to identity than freshmen. Comparing these findings to current observations of males at Stanford and Berkeley, Sanford found that the senior year for males was not distinguished by an identity crisis. Instead it appeared that the most critical time for identity was earlier, in connection with choice of a major (Sanford, 1966).

Constantinople's study in 1969 indicated that while women seem to be further advanced in identity development when they enter college, the men show greater gains in maturity during this period. The lesser degree of identity consolidation in the female subjects may be due to the lack of recognition of important aspects of a woman's feminine identity potentials.

As has often been noted, the American culture is male dominant in orientation and recognizes almost exclusively, activities, interests, experiences, etc., in line with the masculine role (Brown, 1969; Heilbrun, 1964b; Lynn, 1966; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963). In our society, the domain of women is not clearly designated, the few predominately feminine activities are not prestigious, and this condition is reflected by our educational system, in which preparation for womanhood is not undertaken with seriousness (Brown, 1969). As Constantinople (1969) concludes, the academic environment does not seriously offer preparation and experimentation with choices and activities involved in being a wife and mother - recognition of a more feminine parental sex role

identification - but instead offers only masculine opportunities to the female student. Thus, the prolonged identity diffusion for many females in this college environment and in many other environments of our society may be attributed to the lack of matching between present social sex role opportunities and previous identification with the feminine sex role in the family.

The lesser degree of identity achievement in the female adolescent may also be due to the traditional female sex role itself. Evidence supporting this thesis involves two aspects of the highly feminine sex role: 1) conflict over accepting the prescribed role due to the limits and negative valence of the role and 2) acceptance of the role reinforces personality traits that are antagonistic to the development of ego strength and identity achievement.

Several studies indicate that the majority of girls, whatever the quality of the rest of their identity struggles, experience appreciable diffusion due to conflicts over assuming the traditional female sex role. Howard found that whether or not a girl had expressed anxiety over the other aspects of identity diffusion, she would show concern in the area of sexual identity (1960). Other studies indicative of such a pervasive conflict show that 20-30% of adult females, as compared to only 2-4% of adult males, have been aware of their desire to be a member of the opposite sex (Brown, 1958) and, that, in early adolescence females view feminine traits and interests as less desirable than males regard masculine traits and interests (Rudy, 1968).

Two inferences can be made from these studies. The first is that the conflict arises because the available female sex role does not affirm a wide enough range of human experiences. Being prescribed by the role to define themselves very narrowly as sex objects or potential mothers interferes with full identity attainment because of the role obligations and self-conceptions engendered as well as the conflict and rejection produced by such confining limits (Sanford, 1967). Actually restriction and suppression of individual potentials is also operative through the prescribed masculine sex role. Being only "really masculine" or only "really feminine" is less than being a fully human man or woman.

The other inference is that the traits ascribed to the traditional female sex role are rejected or present conflict because they are less socially desirable. This inference is supported by the findings of Broverman et al. across several different samples of college men and women. "Stereotypically masculine traits are more often perceived to be desirable than are stereotypically feminine characteristics" (1972). When Broverman et al. administered their questionnaire under self-concept instructions the effect of a negatively valenced sex role upon the identity process of young women was brought into focus. Self-concepts of college men and women were found to be significantly different on the sex role stereotyped items. Since many more of the feminine traits are negatively valued than are the masculine traits, these women

were reporting more negative self-concepts than the men. Thus, the lesser degree of identity consolidation in the female adolescent may in part be due to the bind of having to choose between aligning one's self with more socially desirable behaviors or identifying with the sex role behaviors designated to her by her society. From the results of Broverman et al. the tendency of female choice is to denigrate herself, an effect that is evidence of the powerful social pressures on the adolescent to conform to the sex role standards of the society.

Moreover, many of the personality traits of the designated role appear to be antagonistic to the development of ego strength, identity achievement, and healthy adult behavior. As described earlier the process of identity achievement involves on the part of the adolescent his own active and individuating search - a questioning of roles, ideals, and past identifications, role experimentation, and rethinking as well as the modeling of the established guidelines of parents and society. It would appear that the greater degree of passive, dependent, and submissive behavior expected and tolerated in the female, in accordance with her sex role, would obstruct the achievement of an independent identity. Supporting this view Stone and Church observe that through cultural instruction, girls become motivated by the notion that attachment to a man is the way to identity, but the point of this intimate connection is to belong to the man and to utilize him as a more potent extension of the

self rather than to establish a separate identity (1968). Sanford also questions the effects of intimacy before identity on the girl's identity development (1966).

While a strong affiliation need not necessarily carry with it a tendency toward excessive dependency and lack of independent achievement, researchers in the psychology of women have stressed the mutual exclusivity of the traits of affiliation and independent achievement in the female sex role stereotype (Lunneborg & Rosenwood, 1972). Horner's well known thesis is that individual achievement and femininity are viewed as two mutually exclusive goals. If a woman achieves, she expects social rejection. Bardwick (1971) sees more room in our society for women to be psychologically free to pursue work achievement but not until after they have become completely secure in their affiliative relationships. Women still largely perceive the world in interpersonal terms and value themselves only insofar as they are loved by others. There is some recent research that indicates that the stereotypical one-sided development and recognition of affiliation needs and the disregard or rejection of achievement needs in women has a negative effect on identity achievement and ego strength.

Erikson postulates that the resolution of the school child's ego crisis of industry/inferiority influences his later crisis of identity to a great degree. The positive resolution of this crisis is theorized to support the developing sense of identity through the provision of a sense of

competency and a willingness to apply oneself to concrete pursuits and goals that are preparatory to productive roles in the larger society (1968). Bauer & Snyder (1972) have labeled the outcome of the school age crisis as achievement motivation and tested the predicted relation between identity strength and achievement motivation. They did find that individuals who demonstrate high achievement motivation scored significantly higher on an ego identity measure than subjects with low achievement motivation. Thus, the young woman identified with the traditional sex role prescription of renounced or delayed achievement motivation would be expected to score lower on identity achievement.

25 In researching the relation between sex role attitudes and psychological well-being, Gump (1972) utilized the dimension of self- or other-orientation to differentiate women's sex role attitudes. The other-oriented woman had a traditional outlook. These women found personal fulfillment through fostering the fulfillment of others, primarily a husband and children. The self-oriented woman was one who embraced the achievement orientation of our culture, seeking fulfillment through the maximization of her own potential. Gump found that women with high ego strength scores characteristically had well defined educational and vocational plans while low scorers were dependent on a man for future plans; high scorers certainly made plans which took into account their interest in a man, but they tended to provide themselves with many options rather than to

pursue a single and solely affiliative alternative; and, finally, women high on ego strength were more often self-oriented than other-oriented. Based on these findings, Gump questions whether it is possible to possess high ego strength in the context of the traditional female role. Her findings suggest that "purposiveness, resourcefulness, and self-direction may be inconsistent with adoption of a role limited to the traditional, other-oriented goals and satisfactions" (Gump, 1972).

Nonetheless, other observers of adolescents believe it is more adaptive for the girl's overall personality development not to actively and independently define herself during the adolescent years, that the high dependency and high affiliative/low independence and low achievement prescriptions of the traditional role are more adaptive for women. Douvan found that ego integration in girls was linked to interpersonal skill and sensitivity (1960). To a greater extent than in the male their identity remains diffuse and incomplete because it ultimately depends not so much on what they are but on who their husbands are (Douvan, 1960; Douvan & Adelson, 1966). Carlson (1965) found that over a six-year period of adolescent development the female increased in an orientation which emphasizes interpersonal experience in her concept of herself, while the male increased in the orientation which produces conceptions of self which are independent of concern with social experiences. Although a socially oriented self-concept implies an over-reliance upon social



feedback and potential instability of self-esteem, self-esteem was not lower in the socially oriented adolescent girl. Carlson explains this paradox by pointing out that social orientation is considered to be the appropriate style for women according to the traditional sex role, and, thus, does not lead to devalued self-esteem. Indeed in their application of the identity status measures to 49 college senior women, Marcia & Friedman (1970) found that lowest self-esteem and the next to highest anxiety level existed among the identity achievement group - the group that actively and independently questions, experiments, and then formulates its own firm commitments. Highest self-esteem and lowest anxiety levels were found among foreclosure women. The latter have not experienced a period of "crisis" but have followed parentally determined commitments. Their interpretation, in line with Douvan & Adelson's and Carlson's conclusions, is that possibly the foreclosure identity is a particularly adaptive one for women. As compared to men, for whom there is a social demand that they go through an identity crisis, women are expected to remain somewhat dependent on their families or future husband for direction. Thus, high social support, due to their fulfillment of sex role expectations leads to less anxiety and higher self-esteem in the foreclosure women, while the identity achievement group's "male-like" process of achieving an identity may alienate them from their peers and may be quite threatening to the girl herself because it involves breaking with

her family, resulting in lower self-esteem and higher anxiety (1970).

However, Marcia & Friedman failed to administer their overall measure of identity strength to the women, and they aren't on safe ground empirically generalizing from the statuses differential performance on the self-esteem measure as the self-esteem and identity measures appear to be tapping two related but distinct aspects of personality (Marcia, 1964) or from the anxiety measure as foreclosure men, shown to have lower overall identity scores than the identity achievement group, also scored lowest on the anxiety measure (Marcia, 1967). Nonetheless, they go on to sum up their findings on the identity process in women by saying that achieving an identity seems more difficult for women than for men so women may actually be rewarded in terms of psychological health for not doing it - for remaining foreclosures. Thus, the implication of Marcia & Friedman as well as Carlson, Douvan, and Adelson's conclusions is that a healthy young woman's development is less healthy than a healthy young man's. Indeed, the findings of Broverman et al. (1972) demonstrate that clinicians utilize a double standard of health for the product of the adolescent struggle - adult men and adult women. They found that "the general standard of health (adult, sex-unspecified) is actually applied to men only, while healthy women are perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards."

Thus, because of our sex role biased conceptions of what is healthy in the individual, there is less socially sanctioned opportunity for an adolescent who is a woman to participate in an identity quest or to enjoy the results - healthy adulthood. If women adopt the behaviors specified as desirable for adolescents and then for adults, they risk censure for their failure to be appropriately feminine, but if they adopt the behaviors that are designated as feminine, they are necessarily deficient with respect to the general standard of adolescent and then adult behavior.

There is hope, however. Several recent studies on adolescents report a seeming breakdown of sex role stereotypes - a move towards an integration of healthful masculine and feminine traits in each individual. Lunnenborg & Rosenwood (1972) sought to replicate Bardwick's earlier study of the relative strength of affiliative and achievement needs in college women using both men and women this time. While Bardwick had found all affiliative responses and not one achievement response in her female subjects, of the four tests of differences between the sexes on the two needs in the present study only one reached significance in line with the traditional stereotypes. They conclude that "it would be more accurate for psychologists to describe college men and women as currently both possessing these needs, with men becoming more concerned with loving and close interpersonal relationships (than in the past) and women more concerned with pride in school and work achievement."

Using a model of sex role identification/personal adjustment based on the traditional stereotypes, Williams' (1972) hypothesis that adolescent girls identified with retiring-passive mothers would have the highest level of adjustment was not supported. Not only did she find that girls identified with an ascendant-dominant father were the healthiest, but the distribution of identifications with parental types was markedly different from that obtained in an earlier study in 1967. In that study the most frequent category for girls was retiring-passive mother while the most frequent group in the present study was ascendant-dominant father, and 2/3 of the girls ascribed to themselves mostly ascendant-dominant behavioral traits.

Finally, a later study of the identity statuses in women revealed very different results than those reported by Marcia & Friedman. In Schenkel & Marcia's (1972) study, the identity achievement group scored higher on self-esteem than all other statuses while in the earlier study that status scored the lowest. In addition, the identity achievement group did not score unusually high on the anxiety measure as they had in the Marcia & Friedman study. In explaining the difference the authors suggest that the current study, executed three years later, may have been dealing with a new generation of college women influenced by the current women's movement. Subjects may have been experiencing a sanction for making independent decisions and felt more support from their peers while going through the process.

Thus, in a time of changing sex role prescriptions, to fully understand and predict the effect of parental sex role preferences on the male as well as the female adolescent's sex role and overall identity development, it may be necessary to also look at the parental sex roles in terms of the sex role prescriptions of the late adolescent's present environment. More explicitly, we can now state factor three as follows: the degree to which parental sex role preferences match the sex role expectations of the adolescent's present society significantly influence the ease of identity consolidation by effecting the quality and coherence of the sex role identifications which the adolescent must integrate. Our third factor is central to Erikson's theory of identity formation, for identity integration at adolescence involves the selective repudiation and assimilation of all significant childhood identifications into a coherent gestalt uniquely suited to the individual adolescent and yet in concordance with the roles offered by his society at that time (Erikson, 1968).

— The source of sex role norms in the adolescent's present society is not that obvious. The established view is that the peer group is the most available temporary anchor to the adolescent in the midst of his confusion and doubts and, thus, is the prime source of roles and opinions to test out and confirm his many and fluctuating selves (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Erikson, 1963; Horrocks, 1969; Marin & Cohen, 1971; Potvin, 1964; Rogers, 1969; Sherif & Sherif, 1965;

Stone & Church, 1968). However, just what the lasting gains are for identity formation is an issue that Erikson has not definitively elaborated and on which the relevant literature is vague or conflicting. On the one hand, experimental study and observation have led to the conclusion that the peer group does not help to differentiate the adolescent's budding identity but is merely a temporary support against identity diffusion and often hinders growth by encouraging a denial of the self (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Potvin, 1964). On the other hand, there is considerable experimental support for a more basic and pervasive influence of the peer group on identity formation. To begin with, sociological and social-psychological studies have demonstrated that the peer group does develop its own norms and values which direct members' behaviors (Epperson, 1969; Sherif & Sherif, 1964; Smith, 1969). In addition, other social-psychological studies demonstrate that these peer norms, identifications, and appraisals not only regulate the immediate behavior of the adolescent, but are utilized by him as external references against which he fashions his inner sameness and continuity, in other words, they become part of his emerging identity (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Kipnis, 1961; Manis, 1955; Sherif & Sherif, 1965).

If on the basis of the above evidence we conclude that the peer group is not only the most available source of roles and opinions for the adolescent but that these references have a basic and lasting effect on identity formation, then

the degree of matching between the parental sex role preference and the sex role norms of the adolescent's peer group is a suitable measure of factor three.

However, the more general culture of the parental generation is also an available source of sex role norms. Earlier we noted Mussen & Rutherford's and Heilbrun's assumption and the supporting data that indicated that the norms of this culture are available from early development on to assist the parents in the masculinization of the boy by providing well articulated models and by consistently rewarding the boy for learning them. In this way long before adolescence and through adolescence the youth has been exposed to the traditional sex role stereotype of the general culture which will have aided in the consolidation of his sex role identity to the extent that it recognized and confirmed the sex role identification he has made with his father. We have already included this effect of the traditional sex role stereotypes upon sex role development and identity achievement in our second factor: the degree to which the father's sex role preference is confirmed by the traditional sex role stereotype is, in other words, the degree of masculinity of the father's sex role, and the degree to which the mother's sex role preference matches the traditional sex role stereotype is, in other words, the degree of femininity of the mother's sex role.

Utilizing identity theory to explore the complex influences of two sets of sex role norms we can conceptualize

both the traditional stereotypes of the parental culture and the peer sex role norms in terms of the extent of recognition they provide of the youth's initial identification with his/her parent's sex role preference. Identification with the parental preference would seem to provide the highest degree of recognition if that preference both matched the parental culture's stereotype and the peer norms. In this case the adolescent's sex role self-definition built upon identification with his parent has been consistently "recognized" - verified in experiences of psychosocial fit-  
tedness from childhood through adolescence.

However, the recognition provided by these social roles will facilitate identity development only to the extent that the roles encompass and legitimize the individual's inner experience. Several studies have discussed the limitations of both the feminine and masculine traditional sex roles (Brown, 1958; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Howard, 1960; Rudy, 1968; Sanford, 1967; Smith, as cited in Lynn, 1966). The conclusion is that the traditional sex role stereotypes do not affirm a wide enough range of human experiences and, thus, total and consistent identification with just the masculine stereotype or just the feminine stereotype would be expected to result in a considerable amount of identity diffusion. Thus, in the case considered above in which parental sex role identification both matched the general culture's stereotype and the peer group norms, the individual's opportunities for recognition of his inner experiences



are all alike and similiarly limited, resulting in some remaining identity diffusion. This would be the case of a boy with a high masculine father (matching between parental sex role identification and the general culture's stereotype) whose peer group norms do match the familial identification. This category may be considered those who most need "men's liberation." They receive no external recognition or opportunity to express more feminine sides of the self and, thus, identity integration is less complete.

Non-matching between parental sex role identification and both the traditional sex role of the general culture and the peer group norms is a situation of very low recognition. Thus, the individual does not have the societal confirmation of his childhood identification necessary to consolidate an adult identity. This would be the case of a boy with a low masculine father (non-matching between parental sex role identification and the general culture's stereotype) whose peer group's sex role prescriptions do not match the familial identification.

Matching between parental identification and either the general culture's stereotype or the peer group norms, but not both, is a situation of moderate matching, and, thus, the individual has the societal confirmation of his childhood identification necessary to anchor his self-image but also the opportunity through another sex role stereotype to express another side of his human experience. This would be the following two cases: 1) A boy with a low masculine

father (non-matching between parental identification and the general culture's stereotype) whose peer group's sex role norms do match the familial identification. 2) A boy with a high masculine father (matching between parental identification and the general culture's stereotype) whose peer group norms do not match the familial identification.

Projecting from the above research on the effect of the traditional feminine role itself on female identity achievement, the operation of this same underlying principle of an inverted U curve relation between levels of matching and identity may not appear in the interaction between factors two and three in female identity achievement. The negative social valence of feminine traits and the impediment to identity achievement of feminine traits such as high dependency, submission, lack of independent decision making, and low achievement may complicate the effects of matching on identity achievement. For example, identification with a high feminine mother and the early learning of traits of high dependency, lack of autonomy, etc., may interfere with the girl's utilization of the positive identity opportunity of a low feminine peer group. Rather than use this group as an opportunity to identify with and express another side of her self and, thus, better integrate her identity, she may just depend on them.

> Having also considered the possibility that the sex-typed individual may be less "mentally healthy" than one who combines both masculine and feminine personality traits,

Bem (1974) has developed a sex role inventory that makes it possible to assess mixed as well as stereotypical sex role self-concepts. While in the past a person has had to score as either masculine or feminine on sex role measures because these characteristics have been conceptualized as bipolar ends of a single continuum, Bem has constructed a sex role inventory that treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions. On the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) it is possible to characterize a person as masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, or androgynous - a mixed sex role that endorses equally both masculine and feminine attributes.

In our discussion of level of matching we were exploring the possibility that the adolescent who has had exposure to both masculine and feminine sex role expectations in parent and peer cultures would score high on identity achievement because of the greater extent of recognition of the individual's inner experience provided by a wider range of role opportunities. We can look at this question by analysis of the interaction of factors two and three. If we assessed the adolescent on Bem's scale we could explore two related questions. 1) We could follow the process of sex role identification "inside the individual" and see whether mixed role opportunities are indeed integrated into the individual's identity resulting in an androgynous sex role self-concept and then 2) we could test the relation between androgyny in the adolescent's sex role self-concept, as well as in his sex role opportunities, and his level of identity achievement.

## CHAPTER II HYPOTHESES

Utilizing the framework of Erikson's identity theory to conceptualize the relation between sex role development and overall identity formation, we formulated the following general thesis: The quality and coherence of the sex role identifications that the adolescent must attempt to integrate will vary according to the degree of satisfactory interaction he has experienced with a trustworthy and meaningful hierarchy of sex roles in his family. In the previous section, based on the related empirical evidence on parental sex role identification and peer group influence, we developed, and in some cases supported, the operation of three specific factors from this general thesis. The following are the hypotheses we used to test the contributions of each of these separate factors and of their interactions:

1) A rewarding and nurturant relationship with his same-sex parent will be positively related to the level of overall identity formation achieved in late adolescence.

(Factor 1)

2) a. For the male adolescent, the level of his father's masculine sex role stereotyping will be related to the level of overall identity formation he achieves in late adolescence.

(Factor 2)

b. For the female adolescent, the level of her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping will be related to the level of overall identity formation she achieves in late adolescence.

3) a. For the female adolescent, the level of matching between her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping and the feminine stereotyping of her peer will be related to the level of overall identity formation achieved. (Factor 3)

b. For the male adolescent, the level of matching between his father's masculine sex role stereotyping and the masculine stereotyping of his peer will be related to the level of overall identity formation achieved.

4) a. For the male adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of his father's level of nurturance will differ according to the level of his father's masculine sex role stereotyping. (Interaction of Factors 1 & 2)

b. For the female adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of her mother's level of nurturance will differ according to the level of her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping.

5) a. For the female adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of the level of matching between her mother's sex role and the feminine sex role stereotype of the general culture will differ according to the level of matching between her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping and the feminine stereotyping of her peer. (Interaction of Factors 2 & 3)

b. For the male adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of the level of matching between his father's sex role and the masculine sex role stereotype of the general culture will differ according to the level of matching between his father's masculine sex role stereotyping and the masculine stereotyping of his peer.

6) a. For the male adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of the interaction of his father's level of nurturance and the level of his father's masculine sex role stereotyping will differ according to the level of matching between his father's masculine sex role stereotyping and the masculine stereotyping of his peer. (Interaction of Factors 1, 2, & 3)

b. For the female adolescent, the level of overall identity formation achieved as a function of the interaction of her mother's level of nurturance and the level of her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping will differ according to the level of matching between her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping and the feminine stereotyping of her peer.

7) The level of overall identity achievement for male adolescents will be significantly higher than the level for female adolescents.

8) a. For the female adolescent, the degree of androgyny in her sex role self-concept as a function of the interaction of her mother's level of nurturance and the level of matching between her mother's sex role and the feminine sex

role stereotype of the general culture will differ according to the level of matching between her mother's feminine sex role stereotyping and the feminine stereotyping of her peer. (Interaction of Factors 1, 2, & 3)

b. For the male adolescent, the degree of androgyny in his sex role self-concept as a function of the interaction of his father's level of nurturance and the level of matching between his father's sex role and the masculine sex role stereotype of the general culture will differ according to the level of matching between his father's masculine sex role stereotyping and the masculine stereotyping of his peer.

9) a. For the male adolescent, the degree of androgyny in his sex role self-concept will be related to the level of overall identity formation achieved.

b. For the female adolescent, the degree of androgyny in her sex role self-concept will be related to the level of overall identity formation achieved.

### CHAPTER III METHOD

#### Subjects

Subjects were 56 male and 56 female students attending the introductory behavioral studies classes at Santa Fe Community College. Participation in the study was made a course requirement. This college and course were used with the hope of tapping a wider range of adolescent sex role styles - i.e. very traditional as well as ultra-liberated - than may be found in university introductory psychology courses.

Of the subjects pooled in this manner, data obtained only from those in the age bracket of 18-25 were used in the main analyses of this study. This selection was based on the following reasons: 1) We are studying factors affecting the ease or difficulty of identity crisis and consolidation, and theoretically late adolescence has been indicated as the time of this crisis. Thus, variations between subjects on the accomplishment of this developmental task should be most extreme at this time, and, taking into consideration wide individual and cultural variations, most theories define late adolescence as covering this particular time span (Muus, 1962). 2) Previous researchers have typically used subjects either in this discrete age range or in the category of



freshman - senior in college, and, thus, comparison of our results would seem more valid if we matched their data on this dimension.

Data was collected from additional BE classes until we had 56 male and 56 female subjects in this age range.

### Measurement of Variables

#### Nurturance

The Parent-Child Interaction Rating Scales (P-CIRS) developed by Heilbrun for his study of the relation between parental sex roles, nurturance, and consistency of adolescent behavior was selected as our measure of the factor of nurturance. One advantage of this omnibus measure is that it brings together the various facets of nurturant behavior that previous studies have shown to correlate with high parental identification and/or high identification with the appropriate sex role (Heilbrun, 1964b; Mussen, 1961; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963; Payne & Mussen, 1956). Another advantage of the P-CIRS is that it was specifically designed to evaluate the late adolescent's impression of his relationships with parents while growing up and, thus, precisely fits the developmental time focus of our study. Although scores on the P-CIRS have not yet been related to theoretically consistent behavioral measures, Heilbrun reports psychometric analyses of mother/father differences on the scale that are evidence of its validity as a measure of nurturance

(1964b). In his administration of the P-CIRS to 61 male and 63 female college students, he found: 1) The mother was attributed higher total nurturance significantly more often than the father which is in accord with several studies indicating that mothers provide greater nurturance to their children than fathers. 2) More masculine fathers were perceived as significantly less nurturant than more feminine fathers by the combined male and female subjects, as would be expected from the research evidence that nurturance is a feminine sex-typed trait.

The eight nurturant modes tapped by the scale are 1) affection I (degree of affection felt for subject); 2) affection II (degree of affection physically expressed toward subject); 3) approval of subject and his behavior; 4) sharing of personal feelings and experiences; 5) concrete giving (gifts, money, etc.) to subject; 6) encouragement of subject in meeting responsibilities and pursuing personal interests; 7) trust placed in subject; 8) sense of security felt by subject in relations with parents.

Each mode is presented with a five-point rating scale with each point anchored by a descriptive phrase. Five always represents the highest degree of perceived nurturance, although the direction of scoring is alternated from one page to the next to counteract position rating sets. Female subjects rated their mother for each mode, and male subjects rated their father for each mode. The mother/father

nurturance score for each subject is the cumulative total of the subject's eight ratings for his same-sex parent. The median father nurturance score for the males was used as the cutoff to establish high and low father nurturance groups. Likewise, the median mother nurturance score for the females was chosen as the cutoff for high and low nurturance groups.

### Parental Sex Role Stereotyping

The level of masculine stereotyping of the father's sex role and the level of feminine stereotyping of the mother's sex role were assessed by the subject's ratings of his mother/father on the Adjective Check List (ACL) (Gough & Heilbrun, 1965). From the 300 behavioral adjectives of the ACL the subject was asked to check those which were descriptive of his same-sex parent. The adjectives were scored on 15 personality variables taken from Murray's catalogue of manifest needs. Nine of these 15 variables have been found to be sex-typed based upon the ratings of 400 male and female college students.<sup>1</sup> Achievement, autonomy, dominance, and endurance were rated as more characteristic of fathers while deference, affiliation, succorance,

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<sup>1</sup>Subjects in Heilbrun's study (1964b) rated their parents on the same 15 descriptive paragraphs used by judges in the initial selection of adjectives for the 15 ACL scales. Thus, there is reason to presume that the behavioral variables being assessed in the ACL parental description are the same as those rated by Heilbrun's students. On this basis we can apply the stereotyping of those nine variables to their representatives in the ACL scales.

abasement, and nurturance were selected as more characteristic of mothers.

In our scoring we first established high and low groups for mothers on each of the nine sex-typed scales by utilizing the median score on each scale. The same procedure was used to establish high and low groups for fathers on the nine scales. Then the number of times on these nine scales a male subject's ratings of his father produced a high or low score in line with the masculine stereotype was calculated for each subject. Likewise, the number of times on these nine scales a female subject's ratings of her mother produced a high or low score in line with the feminine stereotype was calculated for each subject. Finally, the median score for fathers on this last calculation of frequency of conformity to the masculine stereotype, in terms of these nine scales, was chosen as the cut-off to establish high and low groups of masculine sex role stereotyping. Similarly, the median score for frequency of conformity to the feminine stereotype, in terms of the nine scales, was chosen as the cut-off to establish high and low groups of feminine sex role stereotyping for mothers.

#### Level of Matching between Parental and Peer Sex Roles

To assess the factor of matching between parent and peer sex roles we needed instruments that met the following two demands. 1) The assessment of the parent's and peer's sex roles would both measure the same set of specific

behaviors. Otherwise, the matching of the two sex role models would be impossible to determine objectively. 2) It is not obvious to the subject that he is being asked to make comparisons between his parent's sex role and his peer's sex role.

We employed a comparison of a subject's ratings of his same-sex parent and his same-sex peer on the ACL because it met both of these demands as well as providing 1) a measure of the masculinity or femininity of parental sex roles based on 400 college students' perceptions of these stereotypes and 2) a precise scoring method for determining the degree of similarity of same-sex peer and parental sex roles for each subject.

To reduce the subject's tendency to compare parent and peer ratings on the ACL, other measures and time were interpolated between the two ratings. Administration and scoring of the ACL to assess parental sex role preference has been described above. At a different testing session the subject was asked to check those adjectives on the ACL which were descriptive of his same-sex best friend.

The level of matching between the subject's perceptions of parental and peer sex roles was determined as follows: The subject's ratings of his same-sex best friend were categorized as high (H) or low (L) on each of the nine scales on the basis of the median cutoff established for the same-sex parental scores. Then, following the same procedure described to determine parental sex role stereotyping, the

number of times on these nine scales a subject's ratings of his best friend produced a H or L in line with the masculine stereotype was calculated for each male subject. For females, we computed the number of times on these nine scales a subject's rating of her best friend produced a H or L in line with the feminine stereotype. Next, the median score within the male peer distribution for frequency of conformity to the masculine stereotype was chosen as the cut-off to establish H and L groups of masculine sex role stereotyping for male peers. Likewise, the median score within the female peer distribution for frequency of conformity to the female stereotype was chosen as the cut-off to establish H and L groups of feminine sex role stereotyping for female peers. Having classified both parent and peer groups into H and L groups on their sex appropriate stereotype, a subject's parent and peer were categorized as matching if both scored H or both scored L, and as non-matching if they differed.

#### Socioeconomic Status

As the sex role prescriptions of the subject's parents and peers may be strongly influenced by their particular social class membership, any relations found between identity achievement and parent and peer sex roles may be confounded by the influence of the factor of SES. The Hollingshead scale (1965), a two factor index of social class, was included in the design in order to provide a means of assessing the presence of such possible contamination.

### Identity Achievement

The Ego Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank (EI-ISB) was chosen as the measure of overall identity achievement. This choice was made on the basis of the instrument's theoretical development and construct validity. The 23 items of this projective test were chosen from a pool of 50 by five clinically trained psychologists on the basis of the relevance of the items to Erikson's conception of ego identity (Marcia, 1964). Although every measure of identity in the literature has purported to be based on Erikson's theory, all others have arbitrarily chosen to assess only some part of the criteria Erikson has defined as indicative of ego identity while the present measure may provide a more valid measure by including a fuller range of the criteria. These criteria are 1) the presence or absence of some period of re-thinking, trying out, and actively choosing among alternative life plans, labeled by Erikson and Marcia as crisis; 2) the degree of personal investment expressed in a course of action or belief, labeled by Erikson and Marcia as commitment; 3) degree of continuity of the self-definition over time; 4) degree of differences between real and ideal selves; 5) degree of ego strength - the ability to orient to, plan, and initiate activity that integrates the timetable of the organism with the structure of social institutions; 6) the endorsement and attainment of finding a niche in society that really fits the individual, concretely represented in the two adolescent phase tasks of selection of an occupation

and formation of an ideology.

Unlike most other measures of ego identity, the EI-ISB has been used in more than one study and has been shown to be significantly and/or consistently related to performance on a whole network of behaviors in the direction predicted by identity theory. The EI-ISB was found to be significantly related to an interview measure of the four statuses of identity development derived from the two psycho-social criteria of crisis and commitment (Marcia, 1964; 1966). The hypothesized linear relation of the four statuses on the EI-ISB was found to be statistically significant with the order as follows: Diffusion lowest, then Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achievement highest. A significant correlation was found between the EI-ISB and a self-esteem questionnaire as hypothesized in both the 1964 and 1966 studies. In both studies the correlation between the EI-ISB and a conceptual task used as a measure of vulnerability to evaluative stress were non-significant but in the expected direction of higher identity related to better performance. In the pilot study for the 1964 project scores on the EI-ISB were significantly higher for junior and senior subjects than for freshmen and sophomores. Class differences were in the same direction for the main study but non-significant.

However, findings on female identity development indicated the need to modify the EI-ISB before it could serve as a valid measure of identity achievement in that sex. Schenkel & Marcia (1972) found that ego identity statuses in



women based on an interview dealing with premarital intercourse differed more on the dependent variables of self-esteem, anxiety, and authoritarianism than those based on the ORP interview - the standard occupation, religion, politics interview that the men's statuses have been based on in Marcia's series. They concluded that the higher predictive power of the sex interview supports Erikson's idea that a woman's potential for reproduction, with its biological and social implications, must be taken into account in her identity development. Identity as a process is probably not different for men and women, but the issues around which the process occurs may be, and these differences in issues also may be influenced by changes in the social scene. For example, with more college men and women living as couples, interpersonal issues such as intimacy and premarital intercourse, may have become important in the identity formation of college men as well. Hence any measure for determining identity must remain flexible in content in order to tap validly the underlying process (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972).

To take into account the sexual area for both men and women we included the following five stems which were each adaptations of a parallel question concerning vocational or ideological choice in the original questionnaire:

To change my mind about my feelings toward premarital intercourse \_\_\_\_\_  
(like stem 18)

When I consider my sexual standards and behavior in the light of my family's \_\_\_\_\_  
(like stem 3)

Sticking to my standards on pre-marital inter-  
course \_\_\_\_\_ (like stem 5)

Whether I sleep with someone depends on  
\_\_\_\_\_ (like stem 15)

As compared with my views on sex in high school,  
I \_\_\_\_\_ (like stem 16)

Additionally, on the basis of their finding that the female statuses based on the occupational interview had the poorest predictive power, Marcia & Schenkel suggested that occupation has to be more broadly conceived for women. This assumption was based on Horner's finding that professional commitment was tempered with marriage and family planning for many women and is supported by Gump's findings that women high on ego strength had well defined vocational plans that took into account their interest in a man. Several questions in the original EI-ISB are specifically directed to the occupational area and, thus, to accurately tap the degree of crisis and commitment in the female adolescent on those questions, scoring was modified to focus not only on crisis and commitment to a specific job title but also on the degree of crisis and commitment to a total life plan including vocation, marriage, and family planning. On the basis of studies and speculation showing an increase in the importance of the affiliative need in college men this modified scoring was done for males also.

Each of the stems in the EI-ISB was given a score of 3, 2, or 1 according to criteria and examples provided in the EI-ISB Scoring Manual (Appendix II). The Manual is based

on the above six theoretical criteria and response examples taken from pilot studies by Marcia and the present author.

Reliability of measurement. Marcia (1964) reports inter-scorer reliability on the EI-ISB but gives no information on the test-retest reliability of this instrument. A pilot study of our modified EI-ISB was conducted prior to the main study to evaluate this dimension of our measure as well as to provide practice protocols for training the three psychology graduate students who would rate the EI-ISB.

The EI-ISB was administered twice, with a two week interval intervening, to 16 subjects from two BE 100 classes at Santa Fe Junior College.<sup>1</sup> The first 16 protocols were each scored by the three raters during practice scoring sessions, and then each protocol was assigned a final score agreed upon by all three raters and the experimenter. The second administration was scored after the raters had reached their criterion of inter-rater agreement, and, thus, the protocols were merely divided among the three for scoring.

The test-retest method for estimating reliability based on a one-way analysis of variance was applied to these two sets of scores (Lord & Novick, 1968). The estimated reliability coefficient was .77. Interpreting this statistic,

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<sup>1</sup>A third class of five subjects was included in the first administration of the pilot study but could not be re-tested during the same time interval and, thus, was not included in this analysis.

we can say that  $3/4$  of the variance in these scores is due to individual differences between the subjects, and only  $1/4$  of the variance is attributable to error arising from differences in the two testing situations or changes in the subject's ego identity over the two week interval. Considering the present stage of development of this measure, this reliability factor appeared satisfactory.

Training of raters and inter-rater agreement. As briefly described above, protocols from the first administration of the EI-ISB in the pilot study were used to train the three raters. However, prior to use of this pilot data, the raters were trained in scoring of the EI-ISB through study of Erikson's theory of identity formation, Marcia's concepts of crisis and commitment, and the EI-ISB scoring manual. Following individual study, raters and experimenter met three times to iron out any misunderstandings concerning the theoretical construct we were attempting to measure and the specific scoring criteria for each item in the EI-ISB. During two of these sessions the raters practiced scoring protocols from another pilot study conducted by the experimenter.<sup>1</sup> All discrepancies in scoring were discussed, item by item.

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<sup>1</sup>At the time of this study the author was employed at a residential treatment program for drug dependent adolescents. All five instruments of the main study were administered to five male and five female volunteers from this program in order to evaluate the comprehensibility of both written instructions and questionnaire items as well as to estimate time allotment per questionnaire.

The 23 protocols from the Santa Fe pilot study were divided into three sets, to be scored prior to three more training sessions. All training was aimed at establishing a high level of inter-rater agreement on the same protocol, item by item, not at high inter-rater reliability. For the purposes of our study we needed to establish not just a predictable relation between raters' scores but as near identity of scores as possible. This necessity was based on two methodological givens. It would be very uneconomical in terms of human labor to rate 112 protocols three times. We wanted to establish that the raters were rating identically enough that we could divide the protocols among the three of them for scoring. Secondly, discrepancies of five points or more on a given protocol, a situation that can exist even though inter-rater reliability is high, would influence what level of identity achievement was assigned to that subject and, thus, possibly confound any numerical relations between identity and the three factors being investigated.

Each training session consisted of discussion of discrepant scores, clarification of relevant scoring criteria, and assignment of a final score agreed upon by all three raters and the experimenter.

Before discussion and adjustment of scores, inter-rater agreement for the current set was assessed by an F test based on a one-way analysis of variance with repeated measures. Summaries of these three analyses are presented in Tables

1-3. Only the  $F$  test of the second practice rating was significant at the .05 level, indicating that only in the second set was there a significant difference between raters' scores on the same subjects. By the third sample the raters were within two points of each other (with a possible score range of 54 points) for six of the nine subjects and differed by only three points on the other three subjects of that sample. At this point we felt all three raters were operating with identical criteria in mind, and further practice would not erase differences due to human error. The obtained  $F$  for this sample was .06, far below the 3.63 required for significance at the .05 level. A test of raters' agreement over the combined three sets produced a non-significant  $F$  at the .05 level (Table 4). We concluded that there was no overall significant difference between raters now, and we could proceed with scoring the main study, following one more special training session.

This seventh session was devoted to a review of scoring procedures for the five new stems, added to Marcia's EI-ISB in order to take into account identity development in the area of sexual values and behavior. Through our experience scoring these five stems in the pilot study by using the scoring criteria of the five parallel stems in the original EI-ISB, we had agreed upon several revisions in these criteria that make them more applicable to the new items. These revisions were based on the translation of the parallel criteria into the specifics of sexual issues. Additionally, answers

Summary Tables of F Tests of Raters  
Scoring for Three Samples of Pilot Study

TABLE 1

SAMPLE 1

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Raters	25.6	2	12.8	1.22
Error	83.7	8	10.5	

TABLE 2

SAMPLE 2

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Raters	56.07	2	28.04	5.14*
Error	87.26	16	5.45	

TABLE 3

SAMPLE 3

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Raters	.3	2	.15	.06
Error	41.	16	2.6	

TABLE 4

3 SAMPLES TAKEN TOGETHER

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Raters	29.83	2	14.92	2.48
Error	264.17	44	6.	

\* $p \leq .05$

typifying each of the three criteria levels for each new stem were compiled during this session from the three samples of the pilot study. These five stems were numbered 5, 11, 18, 24, and 28, and scoring criteria and examples for each are presented in the scoring manual (Appendix II).

In order to insure continued rater agreement throughout the scoring of the main study, the experimenter met with the raters for practice scoring and comparison after the first and second thirds of the 112 protocols had been scored.

### Androgyny

The degree of androgyny of the adolescent's sex role self-concept was assessed by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). The BSRI was chosen on the basis of its theoretical development, the substantiation of several of these theoretical assumptions through psychometric analyses of normative data, and the beginnings of construct validation for the scale. As Bem's goal was to be able to assess the relative degree of both masculinity and femininity in the person's self-concept, the test was developed so that, unlike existing sex role inventories, it did not construe masculinity and femininity as bi-polar ends on a single continuum. On this basis the BSRI was designed to include a Masculinity Scale to reflect the level of endorsement of masculine sex-typed, socially desirable personality characteristics and a Femininity Scale to reflect the level of endorsement of feminine sex-typed, socially desirable personality



characteristics. The test is constructed so that these two scores are free to vary independently. A person is characterized as masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, or androgynous as a function of the difference between his scores on these two scales. A person is, thus, sex-typed to the extent this difference score is high, and androgynous to the extent the difference is low. Finally, a Social Desirability Scale was included to assess whether the inventory was simply tapping a general tendency to endorse socially desirable traits.

Results from the normative samples ( $M = 561$ ,  $F = 356$ ) demonstrate: 1) the Masculinity and Femininity scores are empirically independent, 2) the Androgyny score is reliable over a four week interval, and 3) the Social Desirability score is uncorrelated with the Androgyny score and, thus, the Androgyny score is not simply a measure of a general tendency to respond in a socially desirable direction (Bem, 1974).

The first evidence of construct validity for the BSRI comes from a recent study. First, the BSRI was administered to classify subjects as masculine and feminine sex-typed or as androgynous. As predicted, the so classified androgynous subjects of both sexes exhibited masculine or feminine characteristics depending on the situational appropriateness of these behaviors while sex-typed subjects displayed behavioral deficits largely related to predicted inhibitions of sex-typed inappropriate behavior (Bem, 1975).

In the administration of the BSRI the subject indicates on a seven-point scale how well each of 60 masculine, feminine, and neutral personality characteristics describes himself/herself. The scale ranges from one ("Never or almost never true") to seven ("Always or almost always true") and is labeled at each point. The subject's masculinity score equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed masculine items, and the femininity score equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed feminine items. The index of androgyny is the difference between a subject's masculinity and femininity scores. The closer the androgyny score is to zero, the higher the degree of androgyny present in that subject's sex role self concept, while the higher the absolute value of the androgyny score the more the person is sex-typed or sex reversed.

### Procedure

The following instructions and sequence of events were presented in each BE 100 class used in the study: In the first testing session, the ACL for the same-sex best friend and the PC-IRS were administered, in that order. Directions for both tests were printed on the individual booklets. (Refer to Appendices III & V) Information for the Hollingshead Scale was requested on a cover sheet to the ACL.

One week later, the BSRI, the EI-ISB, and the ACL for the same-sex parent were passed out and completed in class. Instructions for all three were printed on the individual

booklets (Refer to Appendices VI, I, & IV).

Following the collection of all data, the class was informed of the major hypotheses of the study and the relation of each instrument to these factors.

## CHAPTER IV RESULTS

### Identity Achievement and the Factors of Nurturance, Parental Sex Role Stereotyping, and Matching of Parent and Peer Sex Role Stereotyping

Our first six hypotheses dealt with the contribution to identity achievement of the three factors of nurturance, parental sex role stereotyping, and matching of parental and peer sex role stereotyping. Factor effects and interaction effects were assessed, for males and females separately, by a three-way analysis of variance of identity scores, using a fixed effect,  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  design. The two levels of each factor were as follows: High and Low Nurturance (HN, LN); High and Low Masculine Stereotyping/Feminine Stereotyping (HM, LM/HF, LF); Matching and Non-Matching (Match, NMatch). As there were unequal cell frequencies, a least squares analysis was performed. A summary of these analyses are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Imposing a .05 significance level, there were no significant effects for males or females. From the results of our study we are unable to reject the null hypothesis of no relation between level of identity achievement in late adolescence and these three factors. However, inspection of the analysis of male identity scores reveals one trend worth noting: the obtained F for the factor level of father's

TABLE 5

Summary Table of Analysis of  
Variance of Male Subjects' Scores on the EI-ISB

Source	Partial SS	df	F	Prob>F
Nurturance	5.6746	1	.1941	.6615
Parental Sex Role	82.4810	1	2.8213	.0994
Matching	.2098	1	.0072	.9328
Nurturance x Parent	22.0483	1	.7542	.3895
Nurturance x Match	.5888	1	.0201	.8877
Parent x Match	25.1626	1	.8607	.3582
Nurturance x Parent x Match	.0033	1	.0001	.9916

TABLE 6

Summary Table of Analysis of  
Variance of Female Subjects' Scores on EI-ISB

Source	Partial SS	df	F	Prob > F
Nurturance	26.9055	1	1.0800	.3039
Parental Sex Role	.0506	1	.0020	.9642
Matching	10.7049	1	.4297	.5153
Nurturance x Parent	4.9345	1	.1981	.6583
Nurturance x Match	44.5649	1	1.7889	.1874
Parent x Match	23.1901	1	.9309	.3395
Nurturance x Parent x Match	58.1345	1	2.3336	.1332

masculine sex role stereotyping is .0995. Although the unmet pre-requisite of an overall significant  $F$  prevents statistical judgement of how significant the differences between the identity scores of the two levels of this factor are, we did calculate the means of these two groups. As Table 7 indicates the mean identity score of male students that perceived their father to be highly masculine stereotyped was greater than the mean score of those males with low masculine stereotyped fathers.

As the presence of a father with a sex role preference that is recognized by the general culture's stereotype appears to facilitate identity achievement we wondered what the impact was, if any, of peer recognition of this paternal model. As there was no significant effect found for the Matching factor alone or in interaction with the other two factors, what we are reporting is, again, only a trend which further research may support or reject. In Figure 1 we have graphed the means of the four combinations of level of father's sex role and level of peer matching. These are presented separately for high and low nurturance groups.

The four categories of father's sex role stereotype and peer matching line up in these positions from highest to lowest identity achievement:

- 1) High Masculine Father/Non Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(Both HN and LN groups)
- 2) High Masculine Father/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(HN group)
- 3) Low Masculine Father/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(LN group)

TABLE 7

Mean Scores on the EI-ISB of the  
Two Levels of Father's Sex Role Preference (Male Subjects)

Levels	N	Mean
High Masculine	24	54.372
Low Masculine	32	51.539

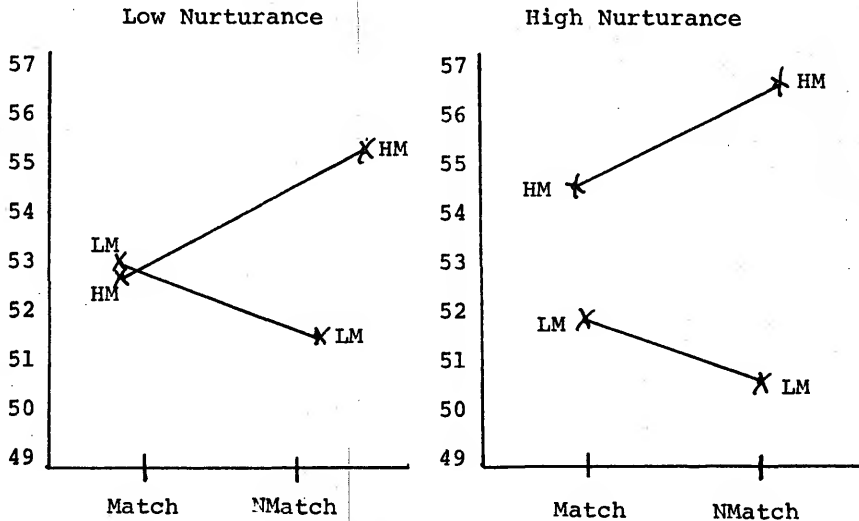


FIGURE 1

Graph of the Mean EI-ISB Scores of the  
Four Combinations of Level of Father's Masculine  
Stereotyping and Level of Peer Matching for High and  
Low Nurturance Groups



High Masculine Father/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(LN group)

Low Masculine Father/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(HN group)

4) Low Masculine Father/Non Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(Both HN and LN groups)

Let us look at this line-up in terms of the impact of combined levels of general cultural and peer recognition. Scoring highest in identity achievement, as expected from our discussion of recognition on pages 26-28, and substantially higher than all other groups, is one of the two categories exhibiting moderate recognition - HM/NMatch. Moderate recognition is the result of recognition of a high masculine stereotyped paternal identification by the general culture's stereotype but a lack of recognition of the paternal identification by the peer's sex role. Next in line is the HM/Match (HN) group. This category represents high combined recognition, the result of matching of the high masculine stereotyped paternal identification by both the general culture's stereotype and the peer's sex role. We would have expected them to score low in identity achievement (refer to pp. 26-28). The third position is held by three groups representing two recognition categories: 1) LM/Match (HN & LN groups) representing moderate recognition produced by the combination of a lack of matching between the low masculine stereotyped paternal identification and the general culture's stereotype but confirmation of the paternal identification by the peer's sex role. 2) HM/M (LN group) representing high combined recognition as analyzed for the HM/Match

(HN group) above. Thus, within this position we have a high recognition group scoring low in identity as expected and both groups of a moderate recognition category scoring unexpectedly low. The lowest position, in line with our expectations, is held by the category exhibiting low recognition - LM/NMatch (Both HN & LN groups). Low recognition is the result of a lack of recognition of the low masculine stereotyped paternal identification by either the general culture's stereotype or the peer's sex role.

#### Difference in Identity Achievement between Male and Female Subjects

Our seventh hypothesis was that the level of identity achievement for male adolescents would be significantly higher than the level achieved by female adolescents. Mean identity scores for male and female subjects are presented in Table 8. Using a one tailed  $t$ -test of the difference between the two means, the obtained  $t$  of -3.443 did not reach significance (at the .05 level with 120  $df$ ,  $t > 1.658$ ). It is certainly worth noting that if we had predicted that females would score higher than males, the sign of the obtained  $t$  would have been reversed, and the obtained  $t$  of +3.443 would be highly significant (at the .001 level with 120  $df$ ,  $t > 3.160$ ).

One methodological explanation for the unexpected direction of this difference is that the inclusion of the

TABLE 8

Mean EI-ISB Scores for  
Male and Female Subjects

	Males	Females
N	56	56
M	52.446	55.821
Variance	29.015	24.804

TABLE 9

"Adjusted" EI-ISB Scores for  
Male and Female Subjects

	Males	Females
N	56	56
M	42.589	45.054
Variance	24.865	18.270

five stems dealing with sexual values had tipped the scale in favor of the females. Traditional role definitions as well as recent observation of college students support the premise that adolescent females may be more advanced than their male counterparts in the area of sexual ideals. To test this possibility by taking into account the contribution to the overall identity score of the five stems evaluating sexual values, we subtracted the scores on these items from each subject's total score and performed a  $t$ -test of the adjusted male and female means. Mean identity scores minus the five sex questions are presented in Table 9. Again using the reversed hypothesis of female identity achievement being greater than male achievement, the obtained  $t$  of 2.811 is still highly significant (at the .005 level with 120  $df$ ,  $t > 2.617$ ). Thus, the inclusion of sex related questions on the identity measure did not bias the results in favor of the women. With or without these questions, the late adolescent females in our sample are substantially advanced in identity formation compared to the males.

Androgyny and the Interaction of the  
Factors of Nurturance, Parental Sex  
Role Stereotypes, and Matching

Hypothesis 8 explored the process of sex role identification "inside the individual" by predicting that the presence or absence of mixed stereotypic sex role opportunities in parent and peer models influence the degree of androgyny in

the youth's own sex role self-concept. Before looking at the results for hypothesis 8 we want to present the BSRI scores for our sample as they differed in important ways from Bem's norms. We classified our sample as feminine, near feminine, androgynous, near masculine, and masculine according to the same cut-off points Bem used in reporting her normative data (Bem, 1974). We remind the reader that our index of androgyny is the difference between a subject's masculine and feminine scores on the BSRI. The closer the difference score is to zero, the higher the degree of androgyny, while the higher the absolute value of the androgyny score, the more the person is sex-typed or sex-reversed. As Bem's cut-offs were in terms of the Androgyny  $t$  ratio, we had merely to divide these cut-off numbers by 2.323 in order to establish corresponding cut-off points on our "difference score" scale of Androgyny. Table 10 presents this classification schema applied to both our male and female subjects.

As Bem herself notes her cut-off points are somewhat arbitrary and the percentages she presents are based on norm samples too small to generalize to all college students across the country. With this caution in mind we'll just note that two consistent differences exist between our junior college sample and both Bem's college and junior college samples. Santa Fe women are much less feminine sex-typed and much more androgynous while Santa Fe men are somewhat less androgynous and much more near masculine or masculine sex-typed.

TABLE 10

Percentage of Subjects in Santa Fe Junior College  
Sample and Bem's Two Normative Samples Classified  
as Masculine, Feminine, or Androgynous

	Females			Males		
	Santa Fe n=56	Foothill n=77	Sanford n=279	Santa Fe n=56	Foothill n=117	Sanford n=444
% Feminine ( $d \geq .872$ )	25	40	34	4	9	6
% Near Feminine ( $.430 \leq d < .872$ )	18	8	20	5	9	5
% Androgynous ( $-.430 \leq d < .430$ )	50	38	27	29	44	34
% Near Masculine ( $-.872 \leq d < -.430$ )	4	7	12	25	17	19
% Masculine ( $d \leq -.872$ )	4	8	8	37	22	36

In terms of our three specific factors, hypothesis 8 dealt only with the interaction effect of all three on androgyny scores. A three-way analysis of variance, for each sex separately, using the same design as the analysis of identity scores, was performed to evaluate the significance of this interaction effect. Summaries of these complete analyses are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

As can be seen from the tables the three-way interaction effect for males and females did not reach significance. Thus, from the results of our study we are unable to reject the null hypothesis of no relation between the degree of androgyny in late adolescence and the interaction of the three factors of same-sex parental nurturance, same-sex parental sex role stereotype, and matching of parental and peer sex roles.

None of the F tests of the other possible effects of those three factors on androgyny reach significance and, thus, do not allow even post hoc support for any significant relation between our conception of important variables in sex role development and the concept of androgyny. However, the F test of the hypothesized three-way interaction effect does approach significance in the analysis of female scores. The obtained F is .0926. Likewise, the obtained F for the Matching effect on female androgyny scores is not far below significance level, having a probability of .0964. Although we can not say anything conclusive concerning the different groups' androgyny scores, we decided to calculate the means

TABLE 11

Summary Table of Analysis of  
Variance of Female Subjects' Scores on BSRI

Source	Partial SS	df	F	Prob>F
Nurturance	.0156	1	.0589	.8092
Parental Sex Role	.0692	1	.2623	.6109
Matching	.7592	1	2.8751	.0964
Nurturance x Parent	.3267	1	1.2373	.2715
Nurturance x Matching	.0450	1	.1703	.6817
Parent x Matching	.5444	1	2.0618	.1575
Nurturance x Parent x Matching	.7779	1	2.9458	.0926



TABLE 12

Summary Table of Analysis of  
Variance of Male Subjects' Scores on BSRI

Source	Partial SS	df	F	Prob > F
Nurturance	.1803	1	.8962	.3485
Parental Sex Role	.0172	1	.0855	.7712
Matching	.2031	1	1.0095	.3201
Nurturance x Parent	.0038	1	.0187	.8918
Nurturance x Matching	.0230	1	.1145	.7365
Parent x Matching	.3007	1	1.4943	.2275
Nurturance x Parent x Matching	.0695	1	.3455	.5595

of the female Match and NMatch groups and to graph the androgyny scores of the eight different categories of the three factor interaction to see if we could discern any pattern related to our theoretical formulations.

As Table 13 indicates the mean androgyny score of the female subjects with mother and peer sex role stereotypes that match scored closer to androgyny than those whose preferences did not match. In terms of Bem's cut-offs, though, both groups fall within the near feminine category.

Figure 2 presents the androgyny scores of the eight possible combinations of the three factors, with the HN and LN groups graphed separately. The following is the sequence from most androgynous to most feminine stereotyped of the four HN groups:

- 1) Low Feminine Mother/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(This group is the only one of the four HN classifications to score within Bem's androgyny cut-off.)
- 2) High Feminine Mother/Matching of Peer Sex Role
- 3) Low Feminine Mother/Non-Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(Positions two and three have almost identical scores. Both are substantially lower on androgyny than the first group, scoring within Bem's near feminine classification.)
- 4) High Feminine Mother/Non-Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(This group scores just .03 points below Bem's feminine stereotype cut-off.)

The following is the continuum from most androgynous to most feminine stereotyped of the four LN groups:

- 1) High Feminine Mother/Matching of Peer Sex Role  
(This is the only one of the four LN groups to score within Bem's androgyny cut-off.)

TABLE 13

Mean Scores on the BSRI of the  
Two Levels of Matching for Female Subjects

Level	N	Means
Matching	28	.460
Non-Matching	28	.699

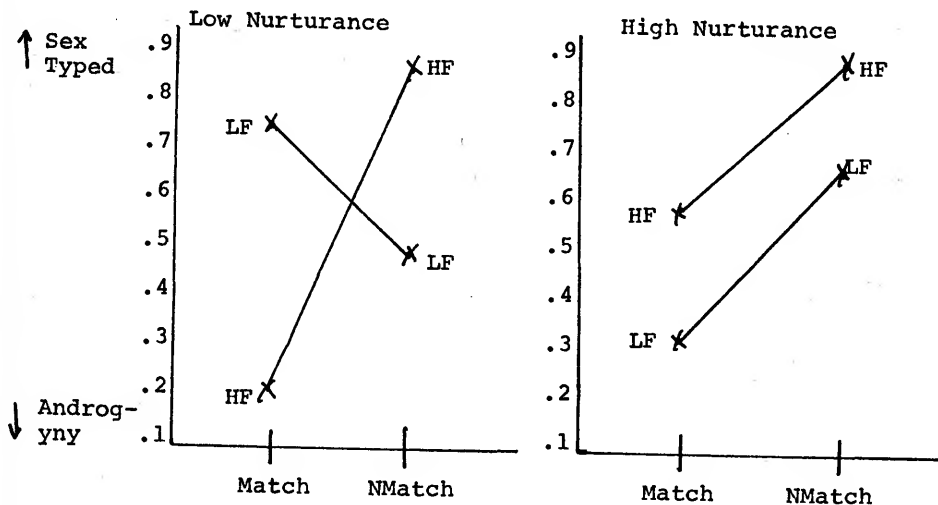


FIGURE 2

Graph of the Mean Androgyny Scores  
of the Four Combinations of Level of  
Mother's Feminine Stereotyping and Level  
of Peer Matching for High and Low Nurturance Groups

- 2) Low Feminine Mother/Non-Matching of Peer Sex Role (Scores substantially lower on androgyny than the first LN group but is still just .04 points higher than Bem's androgyny cut-off.)
- 3) Low Feminine Mother/Matching of Peer Sex Role (Scores well within the near feminine stereotype classification)
- 4) High Feminine Mother/Non-Matching of Peer Sex Role (This group scores just .04 points below Bem's cut-off for the feminine stereotype classification, receiving almost exactly the same score as its parallel category in the HN groups.)

### Identity Achievement and Androgyny

Our last hypothesis predicted that the degree of androgyny in the adolescent's sex role self-concept would be related to his level of identity achievement. To evaluate this relation, Pearson product moment correlations were computed between EI-ISB and BSRI scores, for males and females separately. We remind the reader that the relation we are interested in is between identity and the bi-polar characteristic of an androgynous/stereotyped sex role self-concept. (Refer to pages 28-29) Thus, in this hypothesis the direction of stereotyping - masculine or feminine - is not important. For this reason the absolute values of the BSRI difference scores were used in the computations. The obtained  $r$  did not approach significance for either males or females. The values of  $r$  and probabilities are given in Table 14.

As both Constantinople (1969) and Marcia (1964) found that identity increased with year in college, and Erikson's



construct is a developmental one, we expected that scores on the EI-ISB would be related to age of our subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Pearson product moment correlations were computed between the two variables, for males and females separately. The obtained  $r$  did not approach significance in either case.

(Refer to Table 14.)

Finally, we calculated  $r$  for the variables of age and BSRI scores, in order to obtain more information about this new construct of androgyny. Again, no significant relationship was found between age and our measure of androgyny (Table 14).

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<sup>1</sup>We used age rather than year in college as there would probably not be much differentiation between the two possible levels of the latter while the age levels of our subjects span seven years.

## CHAPTER V DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our predictions concerning the relation between sex role development and identity achievement in late adolescence were based on a basic postulate of Erikson's theory: The ease of re-synthesis of sex role identifications into a more final self-definition is influenced both by past experience with the models of the youth's family and the role opportunities that are presently available to the adolescent in the larger society. We expanded upon previous work in this area by including among these role opportunities the alternative sex role norms of the late adolescent's peer culture. Although none of our results were significant at the .05 level, several important trends emerged. Perhaps the most striking finding is the negligible impact of the peer's sex role norms. From trends in both the male and female data the early influence of the same-sex parent far outweighs the effect of the peer sex role model the youth is exposed to in late adolescence. As the details of the same-sex parental influence differ for males and females, we will discuss them separately.

The most important influence on male identity achievement is the level of perceived traditional sex role typing in the adolescent's father. Male students with a highly masculine stereotyped father scored higher on identity than

those with a less masculine father. This trend is in opposition to Mussen and Rutherford's and Payne and Mussen's findings. However, it does support Heilbrun's findings (1964b) and conclusion that the presence of a father with a sex role preference that is reinforced by the traditional sex role norms facilitates identity consolidation.

As this aspect of societal recognition of the paternal identification appeared to facilitate identity consolidation we explored what effect on identity achievement, if any, the addition of peer recognition of the paternal model produced. The results show that the four possible combinations of general culture and peer culture recognition of the parental identification are related to identity achievement in an "almost" inverted U function (Figure 3) with low and high levels of combined recognition related to lower identity achievement and moderate levels related to higher identity achievement. The obtained relation isn't perfect, but it does generally support our conceptualization of the effects of different levels of recognition on identity consolidation. We'll review this conceptualization briefly and then discuss the implications of its strengths and weaknesses empirically. We had conceptualized the complex influence of the two sets of sex role norms, from the general culture and the peer culture, in terms of the extent of combined recognition they provide of the youth's initial identification with his same-sex parent's sex role preference (See pp. 26-28). Based on theory and research we concluded that the stereotypical



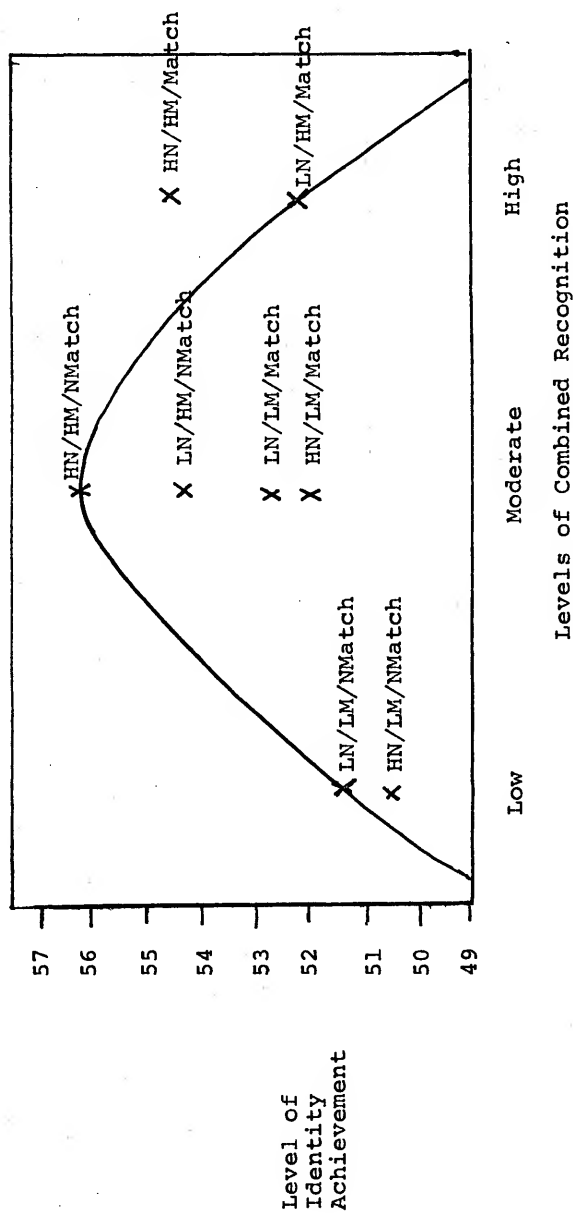


FIGURE 3

Relation Between Recognition and  
Identity Achievement in Male Subjects

masculine role (or the stereotypical feminine role) is too limited to encompass and legitimize the whole range of a human's inner experience. Consequently, we assumed that total and consistent recognition by the general culture's norms and peer norms of an identification with a high masculine stereotyped father, a case of high combined recognition, would be expected to result in a considerable amount of identity diffusion as the youth's opportunities for recognition of his inner experience are all alike and similarly limited. We expected that recognition of the parental identification by either the general culture's norms or peer norms, but not both, a case of moderate recognition, would provide optimum conditions for identity consolidation. Finally, a combination of no recognition of the parental identification by either the general culture's or peer norms, a case of low recognition, was seen as disruptive as the youth doesn't have any source of societal confirmation of his childhood identification.

This schema breaks down empirically because of the low impact of peer recognition on identity consolidation when the father is low masculine stereotyped and, thus, general culture recognition is lacking. As can be seen in Figure 3 our conceptualization that peer recognition of an identification with a low masculine father would facilitate higher identity achievement is only partially upheld. The low masculine father groups with matching peer sex role score higher than the groups with non-matching peer sex role.

However, peer support is not enough to counter-balance the impact of the lack of a high masculine stereotyped father (the lack of general culture support): Three of the low masculine groups score lower than all four of the high masculine father groups.

Likewise, the introduction of a new role possibility by a non-matching peer group when the father is high masculine does appear to heighten identity consolidation, as expected, but not to a significant degree (Compare positions of HM/Match and HM/NMatch groups in Figure 3). In conclusion, for males, the peer sex role, whether it matches the father's preference or introduces a new role possibility, can only tone up or down the influence of the level of masculine stereotyping perceived in the paternal sex role.

The near significant trends in the analysis of female androgyny scores also point to the importance of the early influence of the same-sex parent. Let us take a look at the line-up of female androgyny scores for the eight combinations of nurturance, feminine stereotyping in the mother, and peer matching. (Refer to pp. 63-70 in the Results.) Two interesting patterns emerge. The first concerns the near significant effect of our third factor - matching of mother and peer sex roles. By looking at the graph one can see that the increase in androgyny due to the matching factor can be accounted for by the two groups - HN/LF/Match and LN/HF/Match which not only score substantially more androgynous than both the four NMatch groups but the other two Match groups as well. Let

us take a look at the meaning of the three factor levels and speculate on how they combine in these two groups to facilitate androgyny. For the HN/LF/Match group, high identification with a low feminine stereotyped mother and the supportive recognition for more masculine behavior by a similarly low feminine stereotyped peer, amidst conditioning by the general culture for high feminine stereotyping, may enable a woman to develop a more androgynous sex role. In interpreting the factors for the LN/HF/Match group, we propose a rebellion hypothesis to explain the outcome of a very androgynous self-concept in conjunction with a maternal model of high feminine stereotypy. A low nurturant relationship with a high feminine stereotyped mother for some girls triggers rebellion against the mother and an attempt to become her opposite. In terms of sex roles, this means developing the masculine side of her personality. In line with this hypothesis, the choice of a high feminine stereotyped peer as a best friend may be an attempt to gain the long sought after "good mother." This peer choice balances the daughter's masculine side by identification with feminine traits in the best friend.

A second pattern that can be seen in the androgyny scores of our eight groups is that the two scoring most stereotypical have in common a high feminine stereotyped mother and a peer with a non-matching sex role. Whether or not a good relationship exists with the mother doesn't appear to effect the outcome of high feminine stereotypy in

the daughter. These are the HN/HF/NMatch and LN/HF/NMatch groups. These two start off with a maternal model of high feminine stereotypy for sex role identification, and the addition of a new role opportunity in adolescence doesn't appear to be used in integrating a more androgynous self-concept. As we speculated on page 28, the early learning of feminine traits of dependency, submissiveness, and lack of autonomy may have interfered with these particular girls' utilization of the balancing identity opportunity of a low feminine stereotyped peer model. Rather than use this group to identify with and, thus, express the masculine side of her self, she may just depend on them. Here we are proposing a different reaction to the low nurturant mother of the LN/HF/NMatch group than to the one in the LN/HF/Match group discussed above. While the above group may have reacted to maternal indifference with rebellion and an attempt to replace the mother by a similar peer, the present group would appear already too feminine stereotyped to rebel. In line with their high feminine stereotyping they chose a high masculine stereotyped peer to depend on.

More support for the hypothesis of rebellion against a low nurturant mother in certain girls is evidenced by the reversal of positions on the androgyny scale of the HF/Match and LF/Match groups depending on whether or not a good relationship with the mother exists. (Refer to Figure 2) When a good relationship with the mother exists, the mother's sex role preference is mirrored by the daughter in her own sex

role self-concept. If the mother is low feminine stereotyped, the daughter becomes androgynous, if the mother is high feminine stereotyped, the daughter becomes near stereotyped. When a low nurturant relation with the mother exists, the mother's preference is tied to development of its opposite in the daughter's sex role self-concept. When the mother is low feminine, the daughter now becomes near feminine stereotyped, and when she is high feminine, the daughter becomes androgynous.

A related hypothesis for these last two groups with a low nurturant mother and matching peer sex roles is that they score opposite to their mother's sex role preference due to identification with a highly nurturant father. This speculation was prompted by data by Heilbrun (1968) which indicates that the manifestation of both masculine goal orientation and feminine interpersonal sensitivity in college females' behavior, behavior which we would classify as androgynous, is tied to identification with the father rather than the mother. Clinical experience of the identification patterns of women with uninvolved mothers also promotes this hypothesis. In order to investigate this possibility, we related the level of father nurturance to mother nurturance in our female subjects. We found that out of the 15 LN/Match subjects there were only two subjects in which the level of father nurturance wasn't also low. Thus, there is no support in our data for the assumption that the daughter's preference of a sex role opposite to her mother's when the mother is

low nurturant is accounted for by a reaction of increased closeness and identification with the father. Indeed, out of all 29 subjects with LN mothers there were only five in which this situation was balanced by HN fathers. What appears to us to be the most striking finding in relating levels of mother and father nurturance is that, in most cases, levels of mother and father nurturance were the same. Out of the 56 subjects, there were only 12 differences in levels of nurturance. A girl perceived her parents very much the same in regards to how nurturant they were with her. In terms of family dynamics, it is worth noting that this same finding is true of our male sample. Out of all 29 male subjects with LN fathers there were only seven in which low father nurturance was balanced by high mother nurturance. Out of the 56 male subjects there were only 14 differences in levels of paternal and maternal nurturance. A boy also perceives his parents very much the same in regards to how nurturant they were with him.

The patterns we have presented highlight the determining effect of the mother on her daughter's sex role self-concept through the interactive influence of the level of nurturance of the mother-daughter relation and the sex role preference of the mother. Our speculation about these influences have either ignored or explained the contribution of the peer's sex role preference as an adjunct in working out of the primary influence of the mother. We decided to check out these assumptions by starting with the sex role preference

of the peer and tracing its relation to the direction of the subject's own sex role self-concept. Determining the sex role preference of the peer directly from the Match factor, we looked at the four groups having low feminine stereotyped peers. These were the following groups: HN/HF/NMatch; HN/LF/Match; LN/HF/NMatch; LN/LF/Match. As can be seen from the graph in Figure 2, three of the four groups having low feminine stereotyped peers occupy the three highest positions for feminine sex role stereotyping. The fourth group, HN/LF/Match, discussed on page 78, scores within the androgyny cut-off. Of the four groups having high feminine stereotyped peers - HN/LF/NMatch; HN/HF/Match; LN/LF/NMatch; LN/HF/Match - the direction of the subjects' BSRI scores is not highest feminine stereotyping, as might be expected, but middle range scores for three of the four groups. Moreover, the most androgynous score of all eight groups is received by the fourth group, LN/HF/Match, discussed on page 78. From this pattern we see that a low feminine peer - a good model for more masculine traits - can only facilitate androgyny in the female adolescent when certain conditions exist in the mother-daughter relationship, namely, low femininity in the mother and a highly nurturant relationship. Likewise, the effect of high femininity in the peer is controlled by the interaction of the level of the sex role preference of the mother and the degree of nurturance in the mother-daughter relation. In no way can it facilitate the highest levels of feminine stereotyping, and in one case it actually coexists



with highest androgyny scores.

From the above discussion of female androgyny scores we can tease out the general hypothesis that the reaction of the daughter to the interactive influence of the level of nurturance in the mother-daughter relationship and of the sex role preference of the mother has a determining effect on the direction of the daughter's sex role self-concept - whether she develops towards feminine stereotyping or androgyny. Moreover, the data substantiate the related hypothesis that the direction of influence of the role norms of the peer is determined not by whether these norms are high feminine stereotyped or low feminine stereotyped but by how they fit into the early channelization of sex role development produced by the girl's reaction to the maternal model.

Specifically, we posited two main variables in the daughter's reaction to the maternal model:

- 1) Imitation of or rebellion against the maternal model
- 2) Choice of a best friend to: a. provide supportive recognition of the maternal model; b. be someone to depend on; c. be a role model substitute for the low nurturant mother.

We did not hypothesize about the specific workings of these variables for three of the groups (LN/LF/NMatch; HN/LF/NMatch; HN/HF/Match) because their intermediate scores on the androgyny continuum do not allow much room for speculation about the directional impact of these variables.

It would be necessary for further research to check out our hypotheses by demonstrating significant differences between the eight groups in the predicted directions on measures of: 1) Attitude toward mother, i.e., presence of rebellion or identification 2) Orientation toward peer sex role behavior, i.e., imitation of like behavior or performance of role opposite behavior 3) Relation of choice of best friend to unresolved needs in the mother-daughter relationship. At present, there is evidence in the literature to support our conceptualizations of the female adolescent's reaction to a low nurturant maternal model and of the influence of the development of high feminine stereotypy on behavioral alternatives. A rebellion hypothesis in conjunction with the choice of a peer similar to the mother, to explain the final sex role self-concept of the adolescent girl with a low nurturant mother, is grounded in a review of research on individual styles of adolescent identity formation. Many researchers posit and/or demonstrate a rebellion style of handling the adolescent identity crisis that is related to low acceptance and lack of encouragement of individuality by parents (Karr & Dent, 1970; Keniston, 1965, 1968, 1970; Murphy et al., 1963; Nixon, 1966). This seemingly contradictory style of a need to become independent of the authority figure by endorsing his opposite behavior combined with a need for guidance and identity, manifested by imitating similar behavior, has been demonstrated to be true of Marcia's "rebel" group - the moratorium status (Podd et al., 1970).

Just these behavioral contradictions are often evidenced in clinical experience with adolescents who are struggling to establish an autonomous identity amidst a background of judgemental and cold relations with parents.

One group that definitely does not fit this rebellion hypothesis is the LN/HF/NMatch group which develops in a highly feminine stereotyped direction. In a low nurturant relation with the mother, why don't they rebel like the other two LN groups (LF/Match and HF/Match), who score markedly opposite to their mother's sex role preference, appear to have done? From our finding of no significant effect of the nurturance x parental sex role factor on androgyny but a trend for the interaction effect of nurturance x parental sex role x matching, it seems that knowledge of just the level of the mother's nurturance and her sex role preference is not enough to predict the daughter's own sex role self-concept. There appear to be individual differences in reactions to the same levels on these two factors which we believe are related to choice of a matching or non-matching peer. Again, further research could investigate the dimensions of these individual differences.

For three of the groups (LN/HF/NMatch; HN/HF/NMatch; LN/LF/Match) we proposed that the early development of high feminine stereotypy interfered with their utilization of the balancing identity opportunity of a low feminine stereotyped peer model. The girl's early identification with traits of dependency, submission, etc., in the context of the high

feminine stereotype, interfered with imitation of and expression of the more masculine behavior of her best friend. She is trapped in her habitual style and just depends on her more dominant, autonomous friend. Such a proposition is in line with Bem's general hypothesis on the consequences of sex role typing: "a non-androgynous sex role can seriously restrict the range of behaviors available to an individual as he or she moves from situation to situation" (1972). The highly sex-typed person is seen as becoming motivated during the course of sex role socialization to keep his behavior consistent with an internalized sex role standard, a goal which he accomplishes by suppressing any behavior that might be considered undesirable or inappropriate for his sex (Kagan, 1964). Thus, the HF female would be expected to inhibit the expression of more masculine behaviors in order to maintain her self-image as feminine. A recent study of Bem's supports this hypothesis: Feminine stereotyped females unlike androgynous or masculine stereotyped females failed to show masculine independence even in a situation in which it would have been the most appropriate style (1975).

A rather unexpected finding was the direction of the substantial difference in identity achievement between the male and female subjects of our sample. Based on previous findings of male/female differences in identity achievement during the college years (Constantinople, 1969; Sanford, 1966), as well as evidence concerning aspects of the traditional feminine role that have been shown to be antagonistic

to identity integration (refer to pp. 15-18), we predicted that male subjects would score significantly higher on identity achievement than females. On the contrary, our data shows that the females scored substantially higher than the males. As we noted in the Results section, if we had made the opposite prediction and, thus, reversed the sign of the  $t$ -test, the obtained difference would have been highly significant.

There are two plausible explanations for this reversal. First of all, our prediction of a current difference in identity achievement between male and female students in the first two years of their college career (Santa Fe is a junior college) was based on evidence of a male/female difference in longitudinal changes in identity integration over the four years of college. Specifically, Constantinople found that women scored higher than men on identity achievement and significantly lower on identity diffusion when they entered college, but the men made greater gains in identity consolidation during their college experience. By the senior year females scored higher on identity diffusion than the males, though not significantly. Likewise, Sanford's findings were that there was a greater degree of identity problems in senior women than in freshmen women, while problems in identity for men were greater earlier in college. It may be possible that our male and female subjects will undergo the same reversal in positions on identity achievement by the time they reach the end of the educational/training phase of

their lives.

A second explanation is that there are differences between Santa Fe students and students attending other colleges in terms of their sex role identities and consequent overall identity integration. There is evidence for such differences in our data. Although their scores on the BSRI indicate that Santa Fe (SF) males see themselves as more masculine sex-typed than the normative males, we would guess that male students enrolled in a junior college are generally lower than those accepted at four year colleges on one index of how society evaluates manhood: success at attaining academic/vocational goals. This possible discrepancy between perceptions of themselves and their actualization of important masculine ideals may interfere with and result in lower identity integration for these males as compared to other college males. At the same time, the females in our sample score substantially higher on androgyny than the normative college population, indicating a perception of themselves as possessing both stereotypical masculine and feminine traits. These females combine identification with society's approved way of being female - feminine traits - and identification with masculine standards of independent achievement, autonomy, etc. Our literature review showed that these latter traits, lacking in the traditional feminine role, are vital to the development of high ego strength and identity achievement. Thus, these joint identifications in the androgynous females may have facilitated their identity achievement and raised

it above the level attained by the more feminine sex-typed, normative college students. Indeed, Heilbrun found that female college students who combined masculine goal orientation and feminine interpersonal sensitivity score higher than all other females on behavioral effectiveness in college (1965, 1968, 1970).

With this last explanation we would have expected a high correlation between our measures of androgyny and identity: There was virtually none. A final explanation is that Schenkel & Marcia (1972) were right in their interpretation of a decrease in anxiety and an increase in self-esteem in the identity achievement group over the three year interval between two related studies on women. They posited that women in college right now, influenced by the women's movement, may be experiencing a sanction for making independent decisions, finding and asserting themselves, in short, a push towards identity integration. On the other hand we would add, college males are falling behind in identity achievement due to the confusion they are experiencing in their own role definition stemming from dramatic changes in the espoused standards of the complementary female role. At present the embryonic Men's Movement lacks the recognition necessary to serve as a vehicle for clarifying and resolving sex role diffusion.

Our last two explanations for the female advantage in identity achievement have in common the assumption that a higher than normative frequency of an androgynous sex role

among our women, or at least sanction by the Women's Movement for actualization of masculine traits, is responsible. This premise is contradicted by our data on two counts. As mentioned above, our measures of androgyny and identity have practically a zero correlation. Furthermore, if the Liberation Movement is facilitating the occurrence of masculine or androgynous traits in our female subject's self-perceptions, we would expect that this change in sex role norms would be reflected in the girls' perceptions of their best friends. On the contrary, a casual perusal by the author of the ACL ratings of parents and peers revealed that both male and female subjects in our study did not perceive their peers as any less stereotyped than their parents. Moreover, the percentage of both parents and peers rated as possessing a mixture of masculine and feminine traits on the ACL was far below what we'd expect by chance, indicating that sex role stereotyping is still determining our subjects' perception of peers as well as parents.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>These statements are based on a comparison of the distributions of subjects' ratings of their same-sex parent and peer, in line with the traditional masculine or feminine stereotypes on the nine sex-typed scales of the ACL. As the ACL measure is set up so that higher scores for male parent or peer represent possession of many masculine traits and few feminine traits, and low scores represent possession of few masculine traits and many feminine traits (vice versa for female parents and peers), the middle-most scores of four or five represent equal representation of both masculine and feminine traits, or androgynous sex roles. For both male and female subjects, we found that the number of peers scored in the middle-most range of the continuum was exactly the same as the number of same-sex parents scored in that range. Most importantly, as these distributions meet the criteria



Unfortunately, we can't use this important evidence of differences in the frequency of androgynous versus stereotypical roles between the female subjects group and both parent and peer groups to help us unravel the relation between sex role development and identity. The distribution of subjects' sex role self-concepts was arrived at by a very different measure (BSRI) than the distributions of both parent and peer sex roles (ACL), and there is no correlational data on the two. As seen with hindsight, we wish we had given the BSRI to all three groups so we could validly compare differences in the distributions. However, at the time of formulating the study we chose the ACL measure for parent and peer sex roles in order to correspond to measures used by Heilbrun in his studies of this area. Future research in this area using the BSRI for all three groups would not only more validly test our predicted relations between parent and peer sex role norms and the subject's own sex role self-concept but could scientifically evaluate the very popular question: To what degree and in what directions are male and female sex role norms changing? An answer to this last

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for a bi-nomial distribution, we decided to compare the percentages of male and female parents and peers scored within the androgynous range on the ACL with the expected probability of the middle two classes of the bi-nomial. While only 25% of each of the four sample distributions were scored within the androgynous classes, if chance alone were operating the expected percentage would be 49.

question might facilitate identity formation for many adolescents. It would provide the growing youth with an ideal of how to be a man or woman that grounds him in the realities of his present society and might simultaneously lighten his struggle to find himself by clearing out rigid stereotypical expectancies.

APPENDIX I  
INCOMPLETE SENTENCES BLANK

EGO IDENTITY

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Complete these sentences to express your real feelings.

Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.

1. For me success would be \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. The difference between me as I am and as I'd like to be  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. When I consider my goals in the light of my family's  
goals \_\_\_\_\_
4. I'm at my best when \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. To change my mind about my feelings toward pre-marital  
intercourse \_\_\_\_\_
6. Sticking to one occupational choice \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. When I let myself go I \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. I chose to come to this college after \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. If someone were to ask me who I am, I would say \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

10. I am really convinced that \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. Whether I sleep with someone depends on \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. When I was a child, I \_\_\_\_\_;  
whereas, now I \_\_\_\_\_
13. I know that I can always depend on \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. (Choose only one) I am \_\_\_\_\_  
I am not \_\_\_\_\_
15. It seems as though I always \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
16. I wish I could make up my mind about \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. What happens to me depends on \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
18. When I consider my sexual standards and behavior in the  
light of my family's \_\_\_\_\_
19. As compared with four years ago, I \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. I belong to \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
21. To change my mind about feelings toward religion \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
22. If one commits oneself \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

23. My place in society \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
24. As compared to my views on sex in high school, I \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
25. If I had my choice \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
26. Ten years from now I \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
27. It makes me feel good when \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
28. Sticking to my standards on pre-marital intercourse \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX II  
EGO IDENTITY  
INCOMPLETE SENTENCE BLANK  
SCORING MANUAL

In general:

1. Any answer indicating a commitment to one of the three major areas<sup>1</sup> is, a priori, higher than a 1.
2. Any blatantly pathological or self-derogatory statements and those containing mutually exclusive clauses are scored 1.
3. All blanks are scored 1.
4. Trivia and inappropriate humor are given a 1 - except where noted in the specific question criteria.
5. When the individual sees himself as having overcome, or capable of overcoming barriers to achievement of personal goals, generally scored 3.

---

<sup>1</sup>occupation, religion, politics

1. For me, success would be \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- In line with occupational choice.

E.g.--"realizing my ambition to be a practicing veterinarian."

"to obtain a degree in optometry, have a profitable practice, and a home, and a family."

"the achievement of a large amount of competence in my main career, namely engineering."

"being a brilliant and recognized authority in my academic field."

2 -- Any goal involving action on the part of the individual -- an emphasis on attaining -- i.e., doing or getting as opposed to having or being given to.

E.g.--"fulfilling my state in life in the career I am following."

"in what I do, not in how much money I earn."  
(philo.)

"attainment of the Ph.D. degree and its associated prestige and status." (specific)

"knowing, loving, and serving God daily more and more with my wife, family, and friends."

"a good job with a family and enough money to support them."

1 -- General security and happiness -- the idea that success would be "nice", but no specification of what its components might be. Or mutually exclusive clauses.

E.g.--"would be in the form of pleasure."

"desirous."

"to be superior and to be accepted by others."  
(for most of us, mutually exclusive)

"an inner feeling of self-satisfaction."

2. The difference between me as I am and as I'd like to be
- 

- 3 -- Any indication that the difference is generally small. The answer can be somewhat trivialized (see first example) if it is meaningful in terms of the subject.

E.g.--"three quarters of college."

"is small."

"is very likely to be dissolved in time."

- 2 -- Mention of a specific trait.

E.g.--"I have potential, but lack a certain amount of drive."

"is that I'd like to have more strength of character and security in what I am."  
(close to a 1)

"I'm not aggressive enough and don't try as hard as I should in all I do."

"I have yet to attain success in engineering."

- 1 -- A very great discrepancy between real and ideal self.

E.g.--"is physical and personal shortcomings."

"I'd like to be a better person in the eyes of God."

"is great."



EGO IDENTITY

3. When I consider my goals in the light of my family's goals
- 

3 -- Either directly opposite to family goals with evidence of some commitment, or a difference from family's goals with commitment. Not enough to say simply: "They're different." Ideally, a 3 here would reflect a continuity -- family goals transformed by the individual into his own style.

E.g.--"they do not tend to approve of my goals and thinking."

"they are of a higher nature than my family's."

"I realize that the ultimate goal is similar, although the pathway is different."

"I feel that they're missing a lot."

2 -- Some goals the same, some different, but very little evidence of firm commitment. Or indeterminate statements, such that one cannot assess whether or not a difference exists.

E.g.--"I find them somewhat the same."

"not much difference, but a little."

"I wonder if I'm aiming too high."

"there is no comparison." (indeterminate)

"I am happy and so are they." (indeterminate)

1 -- Direct harmony, exactly the same.

E.g.--"they are basically the same."

"we end up agreeing on my family's goals."

"they are consistent."

EGO IDENTITY

4. I'm at my best when \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Self-initiated action (i.e., doing something) or competition, or little dependence on environment, or activity in line of occupational choice.

E.g.--"I'm on my own and have sole responsibility to get a given job done."  
 "I'm doing work I enjoy."  
 "I'm talking about music." (career)  
 "I'm competing with others in the classroom or under conditions conducive to pressure."

- 2 -- When the environment shifts to suit the individual, or when there is absolutely no pressure at all.

E.g.--"my mind is clear of all worries, even trivial ones."  
 "I'm happy."  
 "I'm with my family and being alone."  
 "under a small amount of tension."  
 "I'm in familiar surroundings." (dependent on environment)

- 1 -- Either seldom "at his best" or completely dependent on external factors.

E.g.--"I've had something to drink."  
 "other people are helping me."  
 "someone tells me what should be done."

COMMITMENT

5. To change my mind about my feelings toward intercourse before marriage \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Extremely difficult or impossible. A statement of firm commitment.

E.g.--"would be like running into a brick wall."  
 "not necessary."  
 "does not apply to me -- I know and stick  
 by my own feeling on this subject."  
 "I'd have to be born again and brought up  
 differently."

- 2 -- Might not be probable, but retains a feeling of possibility. A statement concerning the individual's own process of examining these feelings, eg. guilt, desire, etc.

E.g.--"would require a change in me as a person."  
 "took a need to satisfy my sexual desires  
 and an understanding of where the guilt  
 was coming from."  
 "would have to be my decision and not someone  
 pressuring me."  
 "is for someone to show me where danger is."

- 1 -- Would not be too difficult. Indication of changing feelings without evidence of either the process of introspection or firm commitment, described as externally determined. Does not answer question.

E.g.--"wouldn't make much difference either way."  
 "they have changed in the past years."  
 "I see nothing wrong with it." (DNAQ)

COMMITMENT

## 6. Sticking to one occupational choice \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Practically unequivocal endorsement.

E.g.--"is not difficult for me -- it is law."  
"until I have determined whether or not I  
will enjoy it is very important."  
"is what I plan to do -- teaching."  
"suits me fine."

2 -- Conditional endorsement; or generally low commitment to the whole principle, or concern with difficulty of following through on it.

E.g.--"is all right if you're a success in it."  
"is difficult to do since it demands a great  
deal of assuredness as to one's capability  
of making a choice."  
"is sometimes difficult."

1 -- Generally negative feelings toward the idea, or very little endorsement accompanied by a tone of pessimism as to feasibility, or statement of a desire to remain uncommitted. In a 2, one may be convinced that it's a fairly good idea but can't achieve it; in a 1, one isn't so sure it's even a good idea.

E.g.--"has too much hindrance on one's personality."  
"does not enchant me, but it will probably be  
necessary."  
"is something I have not yet been able to do."  
"can be a bad idea if the choice is poor."

EGO IDENTITY

## 7. When I let myself go I \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Non-disastrous self-abandonment. Luxuriating in physical release.

E.g.--"have a good time and do not worry about others' thoughts and standards."  
 "enjoy almost anything that has laughter and some physical activity involved."  
 "enjoy myself more."  
 "am most apt to do well."

- 2 -- Cautiousness, or don't quite know what will happen, or have to be careful. Defensive or trivial.

E.g.--"never know exactly what I will say or do."  
 "laugh and have a good respectable time."  
 "act very silly."  
 "sleep."  
 "might be surprised since I don't remember letting myself go."  
 "don't change much from my regular self."  
 "that is, withdraw and analyze any problem or situation, I am usually able to return to it and solve it satisfactorily."

- 1 -- Go all to pieces, or dangerous, or self-destructive, or better not to.

E.g.--"think I talk too much about myself and my personal interests."  
 "sometimes say things I later regret."  
 "tend to become too loud when sober and too melodramatic when drunk."  
 "say or act in a way that is not of benefit to me or to anyone associated with me."

CRISIS

8. I chose to come to this college after \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Some thought or consideration on the part of the subject went into planning. Going to a college because it offers the best training in his occupation.

E.g.--"considering others in view of what they had to offer me."

"deciding on my career."

"I found it was the best in numerical analysis."

"comparison of what costs were at OSU and other schools, taking into account my financial means."

- 2 -- An answer indicating only a chronological sequence, not an active decision. Or, some indication that there was little choice, although not entirely precluding choice. Or, more convenience.

E.g.--"deciding to take summer work and have my credits transferred to Dartmouth."

"moving to this city."

"my junior year."

"I found it was the only agriculture college in the state."

- 1 -- There was little or no choice - choice practically precluded; or subject had to, or was made to; he took little part in decision.

E.g.--"not too much consideration."

"I was rejected from other schools."

"my parents talked me into it."

COMMITMENT

10. I am really convinced that \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- A positive statement relating to commitment in one of the three major areas - or relating directly to the concept of ego identity; or Protestant ethic type statements.

E.g.--"music is the finest career for me."  
 "success at anything is achieved mainly through hard work."  
 "my goal in life is to be with God forever."  
 "if a person tries, he can be a success on his own terms."

- 2 -- Introspective, philosophical, "searching for truth," generally positive statements but not so directly related to the three main areas or to ego identity. Statement characterizing self, but not necessarily showing ego strength - perhaps just self-esteem.

E.g.--"sex is the primary motivation in my life and a number of others' lives."  
 "most things turn out best in the end."  
 "I must work harder and develop better study habits if I am to have success in the graduate study of my choice." (more introspective than just a bald statement of the "hard work" ethic)  
 "I will someday have most of what I want." (emphasis on "having" rather than "getting")  
 "I am a far better person since coming to college."

- 1 -- Humor, trivia, or statements concerning purely external factors which signify little investment on the part of the subject.

E.g.--"Americans are growing fat, lazy, and too complacent, although Compoz seems to be needed for a few."  
 "a college education has done many good things for me."  
 "two plus two equals four."

EGO IDENTITY

11. Whether I have sex with someone depends on \_\_\_\_\_

---

- 3 -- Self, and self is not seen as inadequate; expression of adherence to definite personal standards.

E.g.--"whether I love this person and am involved  
in a total relationship, not just sexual."  
"how horny I am."  
"whether I'm married to them."  
"how I feel about them."

- 2 -- Others and self; also if self is seen as inadequate; indication of process of formulating personal standards.

E.g.--"the person and I."  
"circumstances - like his or her attractiveness, my degree of hornyness, the time of day, the location, how I feel about myself, how I feel about them."  
"how comfortable they make me feel with them  
- how comfortable I allow myself to feel with someone."  
"if I love them and need them, and if they love and need me."

- 1 -- External factors; the other person.

E.g.--"whether or not they let me."  
"who they are and what they can do."  
"who the person is and how he feels towards me."  
"the situation and how it presents itself to me."



EGO IDENTITY

12. When I was a child, I \_\_\_\_\_; whereas, now I \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Strong change in overall personality; or a reformulation in adult terms of childhood antecedents; or change in one of the three major areas.

E.g.--"was a babe in arms" -- "am a father and a teacher with many babes in arms."  
 "very timid" -- "reserved and respond when necessary." (adult form of childhood antecedent)  
 "took religion more or less seriously"--  
 "find belief in God truly necessary."

- 2 -- Change in most any specific trait, e.g., in personality or body image.

E.g.--"fatter than I am now" -- "not as fat."  
 "was lonely" -- "I am not."  
 "not as aware of reality" -- "I am."

- 1 -- Trivial or stereotyped. Also, no change, or negative change.

E.g.--"played in the sandbox" -- "no longer do."  
 (trivial)  
 "thought about everything" -- "like to do the same." (no change)  
 "thought as a child" -- "am a man and I think as a man." (stereotyped)  
 "little and insecure" -- "big and insecure."  
 (negative change)  
 "spent money too freely" -- "know better, but still tend to do the same thing."  
 (no change)

EGO IDENTITY

13. I know that I can always depend on \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Self

E.g.--"my own self, then maybe my aunt, then  
possibly my mother."

"my mind and diligence to surmount any  
barrier."

"my reflexes to get me out of a hard  
situation."

2 -- Others, if I do my part.

E.g.--"myself and my parents."

"nothing except books. They will always  
'respond' if you demand it of them."  
(questionable)

"the good will of others, if I treat them  
right."

1 -- Others solely, or no one, or trivia.

E.g.--"on my Army commission for security in the  
future."

"God, when I am down or troubled."

"Columbus weather to change."

COMMITMENT

14. (choose one) a. I am \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. I am not \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Choice of a. (excluding trivia) A positive statement indicating ego strength in the form of a self-characterization, or a statement of commitment to one of the three major areas.

E.g.--"the right type of person to go into my chosen vocation."  
 "determined to be a successful veterinarian."  
 "happy to be a fireman in Ashville."

2 -- Choice of either a. or b. If a., a much more limited self-description, perhaps related to imminent direct action or to future activity outside of the three main areas; or mention of a singular personal trait or hobby; or any searching, introspective, philosophical answer. If b., must be a fairly positive statement about self in order to get a 2.

E.g.--"anxious to get married."  
 "going to raise my children in a Christian home."  
 "inclined to think carefully before acting."  
 "an amateur radio operator."  
 "a realistic perfectionist."  
 b. "hard to get along with."

1 -- Choice of b. unless quite positive as noted in 2; or trivia or pathological answers.

E.g.--"entirely pleased with what I have made of my life up until the present."  
 "sure I will be able to finish school."  
 "as grateful as I should be."  
 a. "6-9" tall."  
 b. "living a waiting existence."

EGO IDENTITY

15. It seems I've always \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Statement reflecting self-initiative or commitment in one of three main areas.

E.g.--"done everything on my own with little advice from anyone."

"wanted to be a teacher."

"been able to make friends."

"been given a chance and it's up to me to do something with it."

"been happy with my religion."

2 -- Introspective, yet not negative self-evaluation; also, vague commitment.

E.g.--"been a perfectionist."

"wanted to go to college."

"had a desire to travel."

1 -- Negative self-evaluation or trivia, or responses indicating a conflict.

E.g.--"tended to make life difficult for myself

-- been my own worst enemy."

"been inhibited from reacting to certain things."

"wanted to be liked and respected, yet wanted to be a leader." (some conflict)

COMMITMENT

16. I wish I could make up my mind about \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Specific goal-directed issues - unless trivial.

E.g.--"being a full-time fireman or making use  
of my education in industry."  
"what to do about the girl I'm dating."  
"my college choice for law school."

2 -- More broad philosophical questions, weltanschauung  
and weltenschmerz, introspective.

E.g.--"sex."  
"what is really important in life to me."  
"my true vocation."  
"the mentality of the average person and  
what he is like."

1 -- Either nothing to very many things; or trivia.

E.g.--"buying a new car."  
"where I want to go on my vacation."  
"nothing, really."

EGO IDENTITY

17. What happens to me depends on \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Self, and self is not seen as inadequate.

E.g.--"how well I adjust to the world."

"what I do with situations as they confront me."

"my ability to make correct decisions."

"my school work and my ability to learn outside of school."

2 -- Others and self; also, if self is seen as inadequate.

E.g.--"my desires, God's plan, and surmountable obstacles."

"on me, and to some extent, society."

"my maturity, as yet, not developed extensively."

"my actions and the cooperation or lack of cooperation of my associates."

"my grades in college and whether or not I'm accepted at vet school."

1 -- External factors.

E.g.--"time."

"fate."

"my days in college."

EGO IDENTITY

18. When I consider my sexual standards and behavior in the light of my family's \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Either directly opposite to family standards with evidence of some commitment, or a difference from family's standards with commitment. Not enough to say simply: "They're different." Ideally, a three would reflect a continuity with family standards transformed by the individual into his own style.

E.g.--"I am more liberal."

"it is good for me not them."

"differ in polar like ways. I am more open and free  $\longleftrightarrow$  In other ways I am more rigid and conservative."

"they are much freer."

2 -- Some same, some different but very little evidence of firm commitment, or indeterminate statements such that one can't assess whether or not a difference exists.

E.g.--"mine are more liberal than mother's, but probably the same as my father's and brother's."

"they are different."

"I wonder what they think about it."

1 -- Exactly the same, direct harmony.

E.g.--"I'd say we're equal."

"I think we must think alike because my parents had six kids."

"I really want to caution myself in how to act with sexual behavior in the path of my family."

CRISIS

19. As compared with four years ago, I \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Change in occupational plans or future goals.

E.g.--"am much more mature and dedicated to my goals."

"have improved in my knowledge of earthly and spiritual goals."

"I've consolidated my goals and made them seem a little more realistic."

2 -- Change in an area of personality or non-specified change, or general maturity increased.

E.g.--"feel more sure of self, more able to make correct decisions."

"am wiser, more settled, more mature and understanding, can think more objectively."

"more realistic, and, I think, more intelligent."

1 -- Not much different now than then. Also attempts at humor and trivia.

E.g.--"am the most evil of evil."

"haven't changed much."

"have put on some weight."



EGO IDENTITY

20. I belong to \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Specific group mentioned, or strong group feeling.

E.g.--"a Protestant church."

"the numerical computation lab."

"my fiancée, my parents, the Caucasian race,  
and the Presbyterian Church."

"the Ashville fire department, the Ashville  
Community Club, and the Kiwanis -- and I  
am proud of all these."

2 -- Non-specific mention of group, or endorsement of  
group affiliation.

E.g.--"to my family and then society."

"nothing, but will join an organization of  
my own volition."

"the conformist society, although I'd much  
rather be a sensible individualist."

1 -- No one (alienation), one person, or trivia.

E.g.--"Carole."

"no one crowd or click (sic) but have friends  
of many different backgrounds."

"few organizations."

"God."

"no one but those to whom I want to belong  
to."

"a mutual admiration society."

COMMITMENT

21. To change my mind about my feelings toward religion \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Extremely difficult or impossible.

E.g.--"would require a terrific amount of  
convincing by some authority."  
"would be difficult."  
"is impossible."

2 -- Might not be probable, but retains a feeling of  
possibility.

E.g.--"would be somewhat difficult unless a  
convincing argument is presented."  
"I would have to find a better one."  
"is not hard to do, but I keep going back  
to the religion I started with."

1 -- Would not be too difficult.

E.g.--"seems a logical thing to do if my inner  
belief changes."  
"I would have to know something about  
religious beliefs."  
"is something I'd be likely to do."

COMMITMENT

## 22. If one commits oneself \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Personal endorsement of the principle, a feeling that one must fulfill commitment.

E.g.--"he should finish the task."

"he should follow that path until he finds barriers, at which time he should challenge the barriers or pursue another course."

"he should follow through."

2 -- There still remain some loopholes, or dubious endorsement of the principle, or cautiousness.

E.g.--"one must know oneself."

"and firmly believes he is right (using the knowledge he has), I think he should force on. Of course, when circumstances change, he should change."

"he should have made certain beforehand he was correct."

"he should never be so proud that he won't change his expressed opinion if proven wrong."

1 -- Disasterous, or a better idea not to.

E.g.--"then he isn't free to change his mind when he wants to."

"then he's stuck with his choice."

"then he's liable to miss a lot of opportunities."

EGO IDENTITY23. My place in society 

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- 3 -- An answer reflecting some knowledge of individual's position or role and some active commitment to it. Cog-wheeling. Contribution.

E.g.--"is in the lower middle class and I hope to raise my status through a college education."

"is in the technical fields such as math, physics, etc."

"is to help others."

"is to get a good education and to use it to further my knowledge of my field."

- 2 -- In definite opposition to society or indeterminate or no particular contribution mentioned. Also, any assertion that the individual can make it what he wants to.

E.g.--"is presently mobile."

"is in the upper middle class."

"wavers between that of a critic and that of an acceptor."

"where I make it."

- 1 -- Pre-determined, individual plays no part, or doesn't really belong anywhere. Lack of social conscience.

E.g.--"is not what it should be."

"has not been revealed yet."

"probably much smaller than I like to think."

"is to better my own position and what I contribute to society is incidental."

CRISIS

24. As compared to my views on sex in high school, I \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Marked change or well specified change in sexual behavior or feelings.

E.g.--"have changed quite a bit, I was pretty puritanical."

"am more at ease and understand it."

"have become less aggressive, enjoy the moments I do have with those I feel for."

"have changed drastically."

2 -- Non-specific change in sexuality such as "more conservative" or "more liberal"; generally more mature sexually.

E.g.--"I know better than I did."

"I am probably more conservative."

"am able to be more free in expressing my view."

1 -- Not much different now than then. Does not answer the question.

E.g.--"have relatively kept the same morals; if anything they are stricter."

"I haven't changed much except that I now accept my bisexual feelings."

"Really think that it is each person's own opinion." (DNAQ)

"I have not changed."

COMMITMENT

25. If I had my choice \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -- Occupation or career-oriented positive statement; also realistically positive statement about self, or making reasonable changes in world.

E.g.--"I would rather have my DVM than a Ph.D. in anything."

"I would do things as I have."

- 2 -- Career or self-oriented but unrealistic or with regrets over past. Or philosophical statements.

E.g.--"I might have entered medicine."

"I would not change anything I have done so far in life or plan to do in the future." (unreal)

"I would always choose what is good and right."

"I would finish college as soon as possible."

- 1 -- A disavowal of having any choice. Or trivial statements.

E.g.--"I have no choice, my events are determined."

"I'd buy a new Buick."

"I would vote for Romney instead of Goldwater."

"I would live in a warm climate such as S. California or Hawaii."

"I would be playing golf now."

"I would remain unmarried." (anti-commitment)

COMMITMENT

26. Ten years from now, I \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Fairly well established occupational plans - mention of occupation - realistic.

E.g.--"hope to be established in a community practicing veterinary medicine."  
"expect to be a successful engineer."  
"will be teaching school."

2 -- Ideals of what "the good life" would be without specifying occupational role. More fantasy-oriented.

E.g.--"would like to hold an executive position in a large corporation."  
"hope to have settled in the community, have a good job, have a family, and be able to enjoy the riches of life."  
"hope to be doing my share in the world where I have been blessed to live."  
"hope I will be capable of settling down with one woman."

1 -- Pessimistic, trivial, or doesn't know.

E.g.--"shall still be unhappy."  
"will be 34."  
"don't know where I will be or what I will be doing."

EGO IDENTITY

27. It makes me feel good when \_\_\_\_\_

3 -- Self-initiated action. Self is the center of gravity in evaluation.

E.g.--"I know I'm learning."

"I look back on the progress I have made in life."

"I do something that someone else has failed or something that helps me attain what I want."

"I am praised for things I consider worthy of praise."

2 -- Not directly self-involved, or when the environment works out the right way, or vague accomplishment, or when others do things for themselves.

E.g.--"I think of Dr. \_\_\_\_\_ and hope someday I, too, will be a success as he is."

"I think of all the nice things that can happen in a lifetime."

"I please other people and myself."

"people put out extra effort to accomplish what they strive for."

1 -- Other-centered, others are central to evaluation of self.

E.g.--"the female of the species tells me I have sex appeal."

"I know that people think favorably of me."

"I can be with my fiancée and know that she loves me."



COMMITMENT

## 28. Sticking to my standards on intercourse before marriage

- 3 -- Practically unequivocal endorsement of adhering to standards or strong assertion of standards.

E.g.--"is part of the way I live my life."

"is a very sure thing that I don't  
intend to change."

"I am really against it." (SAS)

"is not difficult for me."

- 2 -- Conditional endorsement; or generally low commitment to the whole principle, or concern with difficulty of following through on it. Statement of standards with commitment indeterminate.

E.g.--"there must be feeling (love, friendship)  
before there can be good sex - but it's  
not taboo."

"would entail having someone to stick to  
them with me."

"it's O.K., but when you get married and have  
kids that's the time to be concerned."

"I will not marry - intercourse with someone  
I care for (love?)."

- 1 -- Generally negative feeling toward the idea, or very little endorsement accompanied by a tone of pessimism as to feasibility, or statement of a desire to remain uncommitted. In a 2, one may be convinced it is a fairly good idea but can't achieve it; in a 1, one isn't so sure it's even a good idea.

E.g.--"may or may not be the same over any period  
of time."

"I feel love is with everyone until one finds  
the everyone."

APPENDIX III  
THE ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST  
FOR SAME-SEX BEST FRIEND AND  
INFORMATION SHEET FOR HOLLINGSHEAD SCALE

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Precise occupational role of head of parental household

---

Check annual salary range for head of household

Less than \$5,000 \_\_\_\_\_

\$5,000-\$8,000 \_\_\_\_\_

\$8,000-\$12,000 \_\_\_\_\_

\$12,000-\$20,000 \_\_\_\_\_

above \$20,000 \_\_\_\_\_

Amount of formal schooling head of household has  
received \_\_\_\_\_

DIRECTIONS: This booklet contains a list of adjectives.

Please read them quickly and put an X in the box beside each one you would consider to be descriptive of your same-sex best friend. Do not worry about duplications, contradictions, and so forth. Work quickly and do not spend too much time on any one adjective. Try to be frank, and check those adjectives which describe your friend as he/she really is, not as you would like him/her to be.

(Attached to this instruction sheet was a machine scored answer sheet of the Adjective Check List by Harrison G. Gough.)

APPENDIX IV  
THE ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST  
FOR SAME-SEX PARENT

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

DIRECTIONS: This booklet contains a list of adjectives. Please read them quickly and put an X in the box beside each one you would consider to be descriptive of your same-sex parent. Do not worry about duplications, contradictions, and so forth. Work quickly and do not spend too much time on any one adjective. Try to be frank, and check those adjectives which describe your parent as she/he really is, not as you would like her/him to be.

(Attached to this instruction sheet was a machine scored answer sheet of the Adjective Check List by Harrison G. Gough.)

APPENDIX V  
PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION RATING SCALES

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_

Directions:

It is known that there are differences in affectional give and take between members of various families within American cultures. We are interested here in your impressions regarding the way your parents (or parent substitutes) related to you during your formative years from the age of earliest recall until you graduated from high school. You will be asked to rate the way your parents related to you along several dimensions and even though a parent may have changed during your formative years it still should be possible to find some rating point which best typifies this parent over most of these years. If you cannot recall a parent or parent substitute of a given sex, no ratings should reflect only the way you feel your parents related to you. Turn to the next page and begin.

1. Affection I

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree of affection which your father and your mother felt for you.

FATHER

1	2	3	4	5
This parent felt little affection for me. Raising me was a social requirement only.	This parent probably felt some affection for me, but I often was uncertain of it.	This parent definitely felt some affection for me, but it was not strong nor often expressed.	This parent felt a fairly strong affection for me which I was certain of most of the time. There were times though when I wished to be reassured.	This parent felt a strong affection for me, and I rarely felt uncertain of it.

MOTHER

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

## 2. Affection II

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree of affection which was physically expressed toward you by your father and your mother. Physically-expressed affection would include kissing, hugging, holding hands, holding on his (her) lap, stroking, etc.

FATHER

5	4	3	2	1
This parent was highly affectionate physically.	This parent quite often expressed affection physically.	This parent fairly often expressed physical affection.	This parent occasionally expressed affection physically but, generally speaking, was reticent to do so.	This parent rarely showed any physical signs of affection.

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

MOTHER

### 3. Approval

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree of approval of you which your father and your mother felt.

#### FATHER

1	2	3	4	5
This parent rarely seemed to approve of me or the things I did.	This parent occasionally seemed to approve of me or the things I did, but, in general, there was clear disapproval.	This parent sometimes approved of me or the things I did, but at times there was clear disapproval.	This parent usually showed approval of me or the things I did, and only rarely was there clear disapproval.	This parent almost always seemed to approve of me or the things I did; it is difficult to recall any clear disapproval.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

#### MOTHER

## 4. Sharing of experiences

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree to which you and your father and you and your mother discussed personal feelings and experiences with each other.

FATHER

5	4	3	2	1
There was an almost complete freedom of discussion of personal feelings and experiences between this parent and me; I rarely felt that a matter could not be discussed.	Personal feelings and experiences were usually discussed between this parent and me and only occasionally did it seem necessary to keep matters to ourselves.	Personal feelings and experiences were often discussed between this parent and me but just about as often we kept these matters to ourselves.	Occasionally there was discussion of personal feelings and experiences between this parent and me, but mostly we kept these matters to ourselves.	There was little discussion of personal feelings and experiences between this parent and me.

MOTHER

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---



# 5. Concrete giving

Please place an X in the space which best represents the amount of concrete giving (e.g., gifts, money, clothing) done by your father and your mother.

## FATHER

1	2	3	4	5
This parent rarely gave me things beyond the minimum necessary to meet everyday requirements of living.	This parent occasionally gave me things beyond the necessary requirements of living but only on special occasions like birthdays.	This parent was fairly generous in giving me things beyond the necessary requirements of living, but many times I was denied extra things I felt I should have.	This parent was quite generous in giving me things beyond the necessary requirements of living and only occasionally was I denied extra things I felt I should have.	This parent was extremely generous in giving me things beyond the necessary requirements of living and only rarely was I denied things I felt I should have.

## MOTHER

1	2	3	4	5

## 6. Encouragement

Please place an X in the space which best represents the amount of positive encouragement which your father and your mother expressed in your attempts to meet responsibilities in school, around the home, in social relationships, etc., or in pursuing personal interests such as sports, hobbies, clubs, etc.

### FATHER

5	4	3	2	1
This parent was almost always positively encouraging in my attempts to meet responsibilities or in my pursuit of personal interests, and I have difficulty remembering when I ever was left too much on my own.	This parent quite often expressed positive encouragement in my attempts to meet responsibilities or in my pursuit of personal interests, and I seldom was left too much on my own.	This parent fairly often expressed positive encouragement in my attempts to meet responsibilities or in my pursuit of personal interest, but occasionally I was left too much on my own.	This parent occasionally expressed positive encouragement in my attempts to meet responsibilities or in my pursuit of personal interests, but I was usually left too much on my own.	This parent rarely expressed any positive encouragement in my attempts to meet responsibilities or in my pursuit of personal interests.

### MOTHER

5	4	3	2	1

## 7. Trust

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree of trust which your father and your mother placed in you. Examples suggesting a lack of trust would be an undue number of reminders to do (or not do) something, doing things for you which children of a given age should do for themselves, or obvious concern and worry over your success in most ventures.

FATHER

1	2	3	4	5
This parent rarely seemed to trust me to do what was expected.	This parent occasionally seemed to trust me to do what was expected, but most of the time there was a lack of trust.	This parent often seemed to trust me to do what was expected, but many times there was a lack of trust.	This parent usually trusted me to do what was expected, and there seldom was a lack of trust.	This parent almost always seemed to trust me to do what was expected.
1	2	3	4	5

MOTHER

1

2

3

4

5

# 8. Security

Please place an X in the space which best represents the degree of security you experienced with your father and with your mother. Security refers to a feeling of being loved, wanted, and protected by the parent in question.

## FATHER

5	4	3	2	1
It is difficult for me to remember any time when I was not secure in my relationship with this parent.	I almost always experienced a feeling of security in my relationship with this parent, and only occasionally was I somewhat insecure.	I usually experienced a feeling of security in my relationship with this parent, but at times I was somewhat insecure.	I occasionally experienced a feeling of security in my relationship with this parent, but I usually was somewhat insecure.	I rarely experienced feeling of security in my relationship with this parent, and I usually was quite insecure.

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

## MOTHER

APPENDIX VI  
BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Full Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
Year in School \_\_\_\_\_  
\*\*TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_ (If you have no phone, please  
give us some way of contacting  
you, e.g., your address)

---

On the next page you will be shown a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from one to seven, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly

- Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.
- Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are

"malicious", always or almost always true that you are  
"irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree",  
then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

Sly	3	Irresponsible	7
Malicious	1	Carefree	5

## DESCRIBE YOURSELF

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE	USUALLY NOT TRUE	SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE	OCCASIONALLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USUALLY TRUE	ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE
Self-reliant		Reliable			Warm	
Yielding		Analytical			Solemn	
Helpful		Sympathetic			Willing to take a stand	
Defends own beliefs		Jealous			Tender	
Cheerful		Has leadership abilities			Friendly	
Moody		Sensitive to the needs of others			Aggressive	
Independent					Gullible	
Shy		Truthful			Inefficient	
Conscientious		Willing to take risks			Acts as a leader	
Athletic		Understanding			Childlike	
Affectionate		Secretive			Adaptable	
Theatrical		Makes decisions easily			Individualistic	
Assertive		Compassionate			Does not use harsh language	

Flatterable	Sincere	Unsystematic
Happy	Self-sufficient	Competitive
Strong Personality	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Loves Children
Loyal	Conceited	Tactful
Unpredictable	Dominant	Ambitious
Forceful	Soft-spoken	Gentle
Feminine	Likeable	Conventional
	Masculine	



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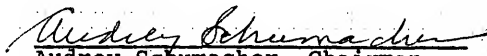
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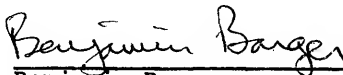
Lauren Sue Deldin was born on December 15, 1946 in New York City. She attended public schools in Miami, Florida and graduated from Miami Norland High School in 1964. In 1968, she received her B.A. in Psychology from Emory University.

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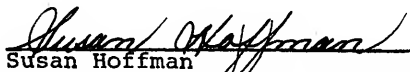
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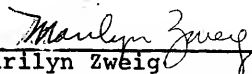
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June, 1976

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Dean, Graduate School



